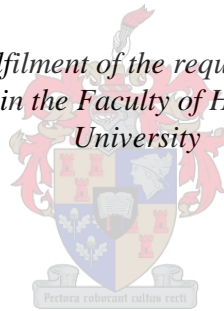


Drawing the divide

The nature of Athenian identity as reflected in the depiction of the 'other' in Attic red-figure vase painting in the fifth century BCE

by
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*Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities at Stellenbosch
University*



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March 2013

Declaration

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Abstract

During the fifth century BCE there were three defining periods in Athenian history that challenged its society: the Persian Wars (490 – 479 BCE); Periclean Athens (mid-fifth century); and the Peloponnesian War (431 – 404 BCE). As the development of identity is a reactionary process, these three periods had a profound effect on the Athenian identity and led to the redefinition of this self-image along the primordialist models. Two premises are combined in this study. Firstly that comparisons to contrary ethnicities are vital to the development of identity, and secondly that the visual articulation of an identity is essential to the reinforcement and maintenance of this self-image. This can be applied to the development of Athenian identity during the fifth century BCE as reflected in Attic vase painting. Through a study of the ‘other’ imagery produced in this century, with special attention given to Amazons, it is possible to see the development and nature of the Athenian identity during each of the three periods.

Opsomming

Tydens die vyfde eeu vC was daar drie omskrywende periodes in Atheense geskiedenis wat hul samelewing uitgedaag het: die Persiese Oorloë (490 – 479 vC); Perikleiese Athene (mid-vyfde eeu); en die Pelopponiese Oorlog (431 – 404 vC). Omdat die ontwikkeling van identiteit 'n reaksionêre proses is, het hierdie drie periodes 'n diepgaande indruk op die Atheense identiteit gehad en het bygedra tot die herdefinieering van hierdie selfbeeld volgens die primordialis modelle. Twee stellings word gekombineer in hierdie studie. Eerstens dat vergelykings aan teenoorgestelde etnisiteite essensieel is vir die ontwikkeling van identiteit, en tweedens, dat die visuele artikulasie van 'n identiteit noodsaaklik is vir die versterking en onderhoud van die selfbeeld. Dit kan toegepas word by die ontwikkeling van Atheense identiteit gedurende die vyfde eeu vC soos in Attiese vaas versiering uitgebeeld is. Deur middel van 'n studie van die 'ander' beelde geskep in die eeu, met spesiale aandag aan Amasone, is dit moontlik om die ontwikkeling en karakter van die Atheense identiteit gedurende elk van die drie periodes te verstaan.

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Introduction

The fifth century BCE was a time of great change and transformation for Greece and particularly Athens; two of the most important changes being greater contact with foreigners and Athens' adoption of a democratic constitution. The former led to an increased awareness of cultural differences and delineation; the latter would have resulted in greater inclusion and emphasis placed on the ordinary citizen, which in turn led to heightened civic consciousness and self-definition. Moving from the archaic to the classical period a number of key events occurred which played a role in affecting Athens politically, militarily and socially. These events were the Persian Wars (490 – 479 BCE), the rise of Pericles during the mid-fifth century, and towards the end of the century, the Peloponnesian War (431 – 404 BCE). With each period came a new set of challenges for Athens. The Persian Wars resulted in an increase in military action as well as foreign contact; Periclean Athens was a period of social change and civic emphasis; and the Peloponnesian War probably presented the greatest challenge to Athenian hegemony and confidence. In each case a certain degree of focus would have been placed on the nature of the Athenian identity and the way in which the Athenians viewed themselves and others.

This thesis will seek to combine and explore two ideas pertaining to the nature and expression of Athenian identity. These ideas are best presented by Hall (2000) and Pasztory (1989). The first premise is that opposition to contrary ethnicities is essential to the development of self-identification and that emphasis and focus on this identity fluctuates in importance at different periods (Hall 2000: 33). The second premise is that the successful recognition and affirmation of this identity relies on visual articulation (Pasztory 1989: 36). These hypotheses will be applied to the context of fifth century Athens with regards to the depiction of the 'other' in fifth century Attic vase painting. In short this thesis will attempt to establish the changing nature of Athenian identity during the fifth century as expressed through the depiction of non-Athenians in vase imagery.

i. Terminology

A few terms used in this thesis will need to be clarified. Firstly the use of 'other' in this study refers to the contrary cultures referred to above. The 'other' refers to anyone, citizen or outsider, who opposes the traditional conventions of a community to the perceived detriment of its people and institutions. In essence for Greeks this will be all non-Greeks and in the context of Athens this refers to all non-Athenians. Athenian here is limited to free-born, Athenian male citizens. With reference to identity this will include the lines along which an individual defines him- or herself; be it national, civic, or family orientated. Identity will therefore be used as reference to specific traits and characteristics used to define a particular self-image. The nature of these articulated traits will

in turn reveal the emphasis and importance placed on different attributes at different times in accordance with social necessity.

ii. Rationale

Over the many years that Greek imagery has been studied extensive research and analysis has been done on the variety of themes and subjects depicted in Greek vase painting. It is widely accepted that these images are more than simple pictures for simple aesthetic purposes and play a more important role in Greek society. Many of these images however have been regarded as little more than generic reproductions suited to the “unthinking public” and hold little significance for ancient social commentary (Boardman 2007: 173). This suggests that images copying a popular theme or subject should not be considered as a reflection of any social attitude prevalent during their production. However this reasoning may be flawed in that the popularity warranting such copying indicates a deeper significance and importance of such imagery. Bearing this in mind the presence of many vessels depicting the ‘other’ become quite significant as even though their popularity may fluctuate they did not disappear from vase painting in the polis-orientated and ethnocentric Athens. This becomes significant when considering Miller’s (2000: 413) postulation that “[i]t has long been recognized that the articulation of *altérité* (‘otherness’) is part of the discourse of *ipséité* (‘selfhood’). Therefore this study will focus on the depiction of the ‘other’ in both socio-politically charged imagery and the so called generic reproductions.

A central aspect of this thesis is the nature of Amazon imagery in vase painting. As these fictitious warrior women were developed by a patriarchal society and are ubiquitous in Greek art from an early date they will be a key focus in this thesis due to the unexpected nature of their presence. While the popularity of certain scenes depicting heroes such as Heracles and Theseus are somewhat anticipated in the male-centred polis, and therefore easier to explain, it is the Amazon scenes that become significant as their presence is less expected. A large number of studies focus on the development and interpretation of Amazon mythology and imagery. Two such papers and their arguments are particularly pertinent to this thesis; Hardwick’s *Ancient Amazons – Heroes, outsiders or women?* (1990) and Stewart’s *Imag(in)ing the other: Amazons and ethnicity in fifth-century Athens* (1995a). Both Hardwick and Stewart argue that the development of Amazon mythology and imagery is congruent to the development and change in Greek society before and during the fifth century. However while offering significant observations and insights these two papers do not fully explore the implications of these arguments with regards to the ‘other’ and the nature of Athenian identity throughout the fifth century. This thesis will use the arguments of Hardwick and Stewart, among others, as points of departure and attempt to more fully examine fifth century vase imagery

depicting the ‘other’. This in turn will lead to a greater understanding of the link between the depiction of non-Athenians and Athenian identity through the fifth century and the nature of this identity. Overall this will result in a greater appreciation of fifth century Attic vase painting and the relationship between Greeks and their art.

iii. Overview of sources

A large quantity has been written on the study and interpretation of Greek vase painting. While many publications remain pertinent to this study, a few are especially invaluable. These include a number of publications by Boardman (1989, 1994, and 2007) which are important for a study such as this on the nature and development of Greek vases. With regards to the representation of the ‘other’ in Greek art a number of papers in Cohen’s *Not the classical ideal: Athens and the construction of the other in Greek art* (2000) offer important insights into the perception and reception of the ‘other’ in Athens. For insight into the nature of identity in Greece and Athens, Hall (2000, 2007, and 2009) is an essential source. He offers an in depth examination of the way in which Greeks viewed themselves as well as the general development and nature of ancient Greek identity. The primary sources of Herodotus’ *Histories* and Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*¹ will also be consulted so as to gain a clearer ancient contemporary view of the social conditions of the fifth century.

Two important theoretical approaches will be used to analyse imagery and identity in this thesis. Firstly the work of Stansbury-O’Donnell in *Looking at Greek art* (2011) and Steiner in *Reading Greek vases* (2007) will be consulted. Using their studies on semiotics and the reading of vase imagery it will be possible to analyse the relevant imagery in this thesis and ‘read’ the depictions accordingly. This analysis will be supplemented with reference to Matheson’s (1995) descriptions of pose and movement as indications of emotion and outcome. Secondly the anthropological models of identity as laid out in Bentley’s *Ethnicity and practice* (1987) will be adapted to this study. By referring to the instrumentalist and primordialist models and the theory of practice it will be possible to apply these to the Athenian identity so as to determine the nature of the Athenian self-image during the fifth century.

The choice of images referred to within this thesis was limited by availability and accessibility. The most important resources were von Bothmer’s *Amazons in Greek art* (1957), the online Beazley Archive available through Oxford University, as well as the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae*

¹ Unless stated otherwise all translations are my own.

Classicae (LIMC, 1981). For the scope of this thesis the imagery focuses on the representation of the ‘other’ in fifth century Attic red-figure vase painting. While a large number of such images are available and were consulted, the images contained within this thesis are representative of their particular subjects and periods. Where possible, focus is given to the work of a specific potter or painter such as Douris, Polygnotos and the Meidias Painter. A further source used to refine the image search is a useful table developed by Stewart (1995a) based on two-thirds of all known Attic vases (fig.9). This table indicates the degree to which Amazon imagery fluctuated in popularity and theme over the course of the fifth century and supports much of the argument of this thesis. The chosen images unless stated otherwise are in accordance with and do not significantly differ from their contemporary vessels and are therefore suitable representations. All images referred to with figure numbers will be presented in an addendum at the end of this thesis.

iv. Thesis outline

The thesis is organised in the following way. The first chapter will focus on the relationship between the Athenians and their art and the degree to which this art accurately reflected Athenian social attitudes and expectations. This will explore the role of the potter, painter, and audience in the production of vase imagery as well as the social significance of vases. Chapter two will determine the extent to which foreigners were involved in Athenian society and the reception of these foreigners. This will also focus on the degree to which non-Athenians were received into and influenced Athenian culture. Chapter three will combine the findings of these first two chapters and analyse fifth century vase imagery in the respective periods with regards to the Athenian identity and the depiction of the ‘other’. This chapter will be divided into three chronological sections each focussing on the imagery produced during the different periods; the Persian Wars (490 – 479 BCE), the mid-fifth century, and the Peloponnesian War (431 – 404 BCE). These images will be examined within their relevant social contexts so as to avoid erroneous anachronistic readings and determine whether a change occurs in Athenian identity over the course of the century. The final chapter will present these findings and conclude this thesis.

Chapter one: The relationship between Greeks and their art

Introduction

Art was integral to ancient Greek society which resulted in a close bond between the viewer and the viewed. This chapter will look at the relationship that existed between Greeks and their art and the way in which art reflected Greek social attitudes. An example of this will be the building programme of Periclean Athens with its reflections of social convictions and desires. While this example offers an insight into the level of state-funded social reflection, this particular study will focus on the more private art of pottery. As this was socially- as opposed to politically-funded a brief discussion of trends in popular themes and subjects in vase painting will indicate the social role of vase imagery. A discussion on semiotics and the 'language' of vase imagery will indicate the level of complexity of vase painting and its interpretation. This will lead to a look at the audience of Greek vase images and the possible effects this would have had on vase production. This will include whether the audience was taken into consideration when imagery was produced and the degree to which the viewer was required to engage with the vessel in order to fully appreciate it. Next will be a discussion on the ownership of these vessels as this too could have an effect on the type of imagery seen on vessels as well as possible motivation behind it. This will also include a look at the trade options of figured vessels which here brings in the possibility of foreign influences on Attic vases. This question of motivation or influence naturally brings the discussion to whether potters, painters or patrons could have used vessels to share their personal opinions and try to influence the community. This chapter will be necessary to establish the degree to which social issues and community expectations were reflected in fifth century vase painting.

1.1. The nature of Greek art

Boardman (1994: 13) claims that the Greeks were keenly aware of their place in history. This is evident in their historiography in which the historians aimed not only to record and analyse past events but to use these events as learning curves so as to either emulate exceptional behaviour or avoid repeating mistakes. He goes on to say that this quality also comes to the fore in Greek art and offers the metaphor of a chimaera to describe the nature of this art. His choice of this two-headed beast gives a vivid and apt image of what he argues was the Greek craftsman's tendency to be both retrospective and prospective in the creation of his work (Boardman 1994: 13). The implication is that Greek art made progress through reflection. With the development of their surrounding world bringing socio-political transformation Greeks possibly looked to traditional, well-established artistic themes to anchor themselves and make sense of this change. This practice will be important

later in the discussion of the Athenian use of figures and events from myth-history to represent contemporary figures and events in the fifth century BCE.

The society of classical Greece relied more on imagery than text for information and the Athenian appreciation of aesthetic pleasure was central to their identity (Burn 1999: 74; Fullerton 2000: 34). Thucydides even has Pericles address this in his funeral oration of 431 BCE where the statesman, along with praise for Athenian military tactics, lauds their appreciation of beauty while avoiding lavishness (Thuc. II.40). For this characteristic to be included in a formal address to the people strongly suggests the centrality of aesthetics in the lives of the Athenians and the public's level of awareness and receptivity of this. This elevates the importance of art in Athenian society in that the appreciation by its public is seen as a defining feature. This in turn raises it from creative idling to a significant form of communication of important issues.

The development of Greek art was a 2 000-year process and incorporated a variety of cultures which, although similar in language and core beliefs, differed in social and political views (Belozerskaya and Lapatin 2004: 6). Fullerton (2000: 9) adds that Greek art was deeply-rooted in traditional ideas, values, and attitudes with the main themes being gender, nationality, sexuality, state, and race. He continues that while these themes persisted through the ages they were reinvented and reinterpreted with changing social conditions. Although this demonstrates the ability of Greek culture to adapt to changing social conditions, a degree of conservatism remained as the same traditional themes were constantly revisited. An example of this would be the Greek preoccupation with the depiction of the ideal human form. This was able to remain an enduring subject in Greek thought and expression but also able to change in representation over time. Fullerton considers this tendency to be one of the key differences that distinguished western Greek art from its ancient eastern counterparts (Fullerton 2000: 9). This evidence suggests that Greek art was a core tool in facilitating the expression of deeply entrenched ideals and values. As the more traditional themes were influenced and altered by the continual flow of social change so too were their methods of visual representation which avoided stagnation and anachronistic depictions. This representation is also visible on a polis-wide level as civic concerns were reflected in monumental iconography.

1.2. Periclean Athens and state art

During the fifth century there was no greater call for civic art than the Periclean building programme. This period, although only a few years in the whole century, gives a good indication of the degree to which art was able to commemorate or lend significance to certain key events. Lapatin

(2007: 132) describes how during the early years of the fifth century, the Athenians honoured their success over their enemies in the Persian Wars through various forms of public artworks. Alongside images of the Athenians defeating Persians there were popular scenes from mythology, including Theseus' Amazonomachy, the Centauromachy and the Ilioupersis. The characteristics of each enemy faced by the Greeks was seen to be possessed by the Persians; the arrogance of the centaurs, the Eastern factor introduced by the Trojans, and the asexuality of the Amazons (Lapatin 2007: 132). The linking of these various scenes clearly indicates their shared metaphor: the victory of Athens over their foreign enemy. This in turn shows the way in which art reflected the Athenian social attitude of superiority. To support this it is important to discuss the most significant building to be erected during the era of Pericles; the Parthenon.

Built between 447 and 438 BCE and decorated with paint and gold the Parthenon was intended to be the most elaborate temple built to impress any person, local or foreign, who viewed it. The argument that all the funds for this building project were syphoned from the Delian League in 454 BCE has recently been challenged yet this source would probably have supplemented Athens' own contribution towards paying for the construction (Lapatin 2007: 137). According to Fullerton (2000: 54) the many images depicted on the Parthenon follow the same theme as the public depictions discussed above; Greece versus the 'other'. Most of the metope carvings depict images of war and fighting with the by now usual scenes of the Centauromachy on the south, the Gigantomachy on the east, with the west and north being interpreted as the Amazonomachy and Ilioupersis respectively (Fullerton 2000: 53 – 54). Clearly this time of artistic production was preoccupied not only by the opinions and patriotic feelings of the majority but also a state-emphasised image. The message is quite clear: Athens had defeated the enemy, represented by the various mythological battles, and the enemy was deliberately cast as 'other' and definitely non-Athenian. As Fullerton (2000: 43) argues that the art of Athens was not simply for the sake of aesthetic representation but rather for the city and its people, it is likely that this imagery portrays the underlying attitude of Athenian society as depicted on the state-funded Parthenon. Fullerton (2000: 54) also claims that these images were statements about identity on various levels; ranging from that of an individual within the city, the city compared to other cities, to the identity of Greeks as a whole within the known world. As the Parthenon was one of the most distinct and viewed buildings in Athens, it becomes evident that the imagery would have had to satisfy the majority of the Athenians.

As this was probably the case a similar view may well have been reflected in other forms of craft including that of pottery. This by no means suggests that pottery simply copied the images and sentiments of public works. The abovementioned monumental buildings and depictions were

predominantly state-funded. Pottery however was more privately financed and viewed. The sentiments reflected in public works may therefore be more propagandistic to an extent and give a less reliable indication of prevailing private attitudes which may differ from the state-emphasised image. Pottery therefore should be considered as a separate entity and in no way dependent on public works. The previous discussion is simply to give evidence for the socially representative and reflective nature of Greek art. While public works may be somewhat deliberate pottery is indicative of a more unconscious and truer reflection of prevailing social attitudes.

1.3. Pottery and society

The pottery of ancient Athens offers valuable and important insights into the social conditions, attitudes and relationships of the fifth century. Similar to the public works previously discussed vase imagery played an equally important role in the representation of the civic pride and idealized heroism prevalent in the fifth century (Boardman 1989: 11; 60). One way of ascertaining the link between social attitudes and vase painting is to look at the presence of trends that occurred in this art form. A useful source for this is Boardman's survey (1989) of Attic red-figure vase painting of the classical period. Boardman (1989: 217) claims that certain images give an indication of the social fluctuations in Athens during certain key events such as images of Athenian victory after the Persian Wars. This suggests that the Athenians attached great meaning and gravity to vase painting as they chose to have these important images of superiority depicted on their vessels. These images therefore were not only representations of physical occurrences and events but rather a reflection of the socially accepted and perhaps expected public image.

Boardman notes a number of fluctuations in popularity of certain themes and subjects in Attic vase painting ranging from battle scenes to religious depictions (Boardman 1989: 217 – 225). These shifts in trends and popularity indicate the close link that existed between vase imagery and social conditions. If this link did not exist trends would not occur. As they are dependent on audience desire and expectation any emphasis on, or indeed avoidance of, a particular theme or subject indicates a wide market appeal which in turn indicates a prevalent and popular social attitude. The affect of external conditions and their subsequent representation in vase imagery can be seen in the way battle scenes became increasingly orientalist after the Persian Wars (Boardman 1989: 227). This only serves to support the argument that vase imagery was affected by social conditions and attitudes and came to reflect the desires and self-image of fifth century Athenians.

1.3.2. Semiotics and reading vase images

It is important to remember that it is not the image itself that is so significant but rather its implication, as Beard (1991: 20) argues a vase image “is not a *picture* of, but a *statement* about” the depiction on the vessel. Recent studies have established that images on vases can be considered to use a language of their own and should be read accordingly. According to Stansbury-O’Donnell (2011: 72) this language is generated through the specific grouping of certain images or signs in a certain order in a certain context which then results in a meaningful message. This theory of signs or semiotics is based on the premise that an image contains symbolism which conveys a message in a similar way to a text. This reading of an image however can also lead to a variety of conclusions or intended messages due to a change in audience and context (Stansbury-O’Donnell 2011: 72 – 73). Steiner (2007: 12) supports this view by claiming that semiotics entails that imagery follows its own basic rules of syntax and grammar with actions and objects becoming meaningful words. The resultant symbols then become a code which goes beyond the simple representation of reality. These images rely heavily on connotations and associations evoked in the mind of the audience which results in a highly condensed message contained in a single depiction (Steiner 2007: 12). Therefore vase imagery cannot be taken simply at face value but must rather be read in layers and interpreted accordingly.

This can be seen in the classical example of a man in a lion skin implicitly representing Heracles and subsequently evoking all the mythology relevant to this figure. The man in the lion skin is the *signifier* while Heracles is the *signified* (Stansbury-O’Donnell 2011: 77). This is of course only limited to a single image within a larger scene or what is referred to as the semantic field. To this scene of a man in a lion skin one can then add a lion. As it has been established that the man is Heracles it is most likely that this animal is the Nemean lion due to the hero’s mythology (Stansbury-O’Donnell 2011: 77). According to Steiner (2007: 5) it is only possible to read this message in an image due to repetition and the reiteration of the symbolic meaning of a single object within a scene. These objects or symbols are repeated over time to such a degree that the audience starts to make automatic associations resulting in an instinctive reading of the scene.

This leads to the importance of the study of semiotics and structural analysis. Using the analogy of language once again, the symbols become parts of speech within a complete sentence or scene. This starts with the *nucleus* (the main participants and action), which is supplemented by the *catalyst* (the elaborating peripheral figures or actions), which is all given context through the *informant* (the identifying element), which ultimately leads to a wider context through the *index* linking the scene to a non-immediate event or idea (Stansbury-O’Donnell 2011: 79). While this may seem quite complicated and time consuming, it is most likely that ancient viewers of these scenes would be

able to make these myth-history associations in a matter of seconds as March (2009: 1) argues mythology played an integral role in the everyday lives of Greeks both publically and privately. The high degree of interpretation and audience response required to fully understand and appreciate a single vase image, as attested to by semiotics, indicates the high level of visual literacy in Athens. It also reveals the level of sophistication required for the production of vase imagery elevating the importance of these depictions. This understanding of semiotics and structure can now be used as a model for viewing and understanding all vase images. Further evidence also supports the degree to which the audience was required to engage with vase paintings so as to fully appreciate the images.

1.3.3. The audience and engaged viewership

When studying any form of artwork it is important to consider the intended audience of the pieces as this will not only give an indication of the market but also the possible rationale behind certain imagery or design. This is no truer than for Greek vases. To suggest that vase painting was merely designed to be glanced at while utilising a vessel but warranted no further consideration is a misleading assumption. It is therefore important to establish just how close the relationship between viewer and vessel was in ancient Greece. In order to investigate this, reference will be made to three examples of response-requiring devices in vase painting: eye cups, framing, and inscriptions.

Certain vase images were created specifically for the purpose of drawing in the viewer, requiring some form of response from the audience. Hedreen (2007: 217) uses the example of eye cups which feature two large stylised eyes on the side of a drinking cup which were most popular between 540 and 480 BCE (fig.1). Although it has been suggested that these images are simply part of the insignificant floral motifs that often accompany the eyes, Hedreen argues that the sudden appearance of the design and its subsequent short but intense popularity render this image one of great importance (Hedreen 2007: 217). When looking at such a vessel it becomes evident that this full frontal face was meant to elicit some form of reaction from the viewer, be it fear or sympathy, which supports the idea of the engaged audience member (Boardman 2007: 240). Hedreen (2007: 218) continues that like poetry, vase painting would have allowed for the audience to imagine themselves in the setting suggested by the images on the vessel and even substitute themselves for one of the depicted characters. As the eyes on the cup were possibly meant to evoke the *gorgoneion* these vessels may have brought to mind the mythology of Perseus and Medusa. This suggests that these cups would have required the viewer to actively imagine that this detached set of eyes represented the entire myth which in turn required knowledge of this mythology (Hedreen 2007: 218; 234). This evidence clearly supports the argument that certain images on vessels required a

degree of engagement and involvement from the audience as a prerequisite for the full appreciation of the representation.

The second example is the role of framing in vase painting in directing the response of viewers. Hurwit (1977: 1) argues that certain significance lies in the relationship between an image and its frame, placing images of metopes and vase paintings in either the closed or open mode categories. The closed mode results in the frame or border of an image being so strict that it actually encroaches on the scene. This framing focuses the attention of the viewer on a specific scene or characters. This framing defines the limits between the image and the audience and Hurwit adds that this device satisfies the audience's need for a structured view of a scene. The scene is therefore delineated and complete, appealing to the preconceptions of the viewer (Hurwit 1977: 1 – 2; 5). An example of this type of frame can be seen on the tondo of a cup in Edinburgh (1887.213) attributed to the Triptolemos Painter (fig.2) in which a fallen warrior is hindered by the border while the standing soldier appears to either be bending down to strike him or to avoid hitting the 'top' of the tondo.

Of the four open modes three will be referred to as they are the most pertinent to vase painting: the obstructed image; the interrupted frame; and free-field composition. In the obstructed image only a certain percentage of a scene can be viewed on a vase as the frame overlaps this scene and blocks a complete view of the action. Hurwit describes this as a "porthole" onto a scene, a partial view of an entire action, requiring the viewer to complete the scene using their imagination or their knowledge of mythology if the action originates from myth (Hurwit 1977: 6 – 7). The interrupted frame was the most commonly used by Greek craftsmen and once again resulted in the overlapping of image and frame but in this instance the image lies in front of the frame. Hurwit claims that this creates a difference in depth, especially in vase painting, and thrusts the image beyond the painted surface, rendering the scene or character less restricted and static and more tangible and energized to the audience (Hurwit 1977: 9 – 10). This gives the impression that the images painted over the frame appear to be stepping out of the rendered scene and into the immediate world of the viewer which in turn forces the viewer to focus their attention on the depicted action. The tondo of a cup in Ferrara (T1039A) attributed to the Eretria Painter (fig.3) illustrates this technique of framing. The warrior on the left appears to be stepping out of the frame with their back foot and, although the figure is still partially restricted by the circular border, it is evident that the desired effect is still achieved and the character does appear to have somewhat stepped out of the painted scene and into the space of the viewer.

The last open mode that will be discussed is free-field composition which achieved its results from the complete lack of any border or frame. Here painters would not make use of a delineating border and place their depicted figures on the unframed curving exterior of the vases. Hurwit explains that this method meant that the centring and focussing previously done by the frame were now left up to the audience who were required to use their own spatial reasoning to make sense of the seemingly floating scene. This device made it possible for the viewer to perceive the background as more than just the vase surface but also as an atmospheric element of the image itself (1977: 15 – 16). A floating head on the surface of a squat lekythos in Basel (BS461) attributed to the Achilles Painter (fig.4) shows the use of the free-field composition method. This bodiless head requires the viewer not only to imagine the setting of the scene but also the rest of the figure so as to make sense of the context of the image. This type of open mode is probably the one that requires the most involvement from the audience in order for the viewers to fully appreciate the scenes.

The final example, inscriptions, is one of the most obvious devices requiring a response from the viewer. Inscriptions were used for various reasons including potter and painter signatures, *kalos* inscriptions, and labelling certain figures in vase scenes. However these labels were used sporadically and often inexplicably for easily identifiable characters (Boardman 2003: 110 – 111). Boardman (2003: 109) postulates that as literary evidence suggests that most Greek texts may have been read aloud this could suggest that inscriptions on vases were intended to be voiced. This required not only a degree of involvement from the viewer but also from those listening around him.

All the above methods that were used by vase painters – eye cups, framing modes, and vase inscriptions – show the degree to which audience members were required to be engaged with the depictions on certain vessels so as to fully appreciate the images with which they were confronted. Osborne (1998: 136) even argues that the red-figure technique was used to create a closer link between vessel and viewer with its greater degree of realism by fleshing out the bodies of the figures in the depictions. The figures now became truer to life with softer, more dynamic features (Woodford 2004: 49). Osborne (1998: 137) also claims that the development of this technique originated not in creative initiative but rather to meet a growing market demand for desired images. These devices and techniques suggest the extent to which the audience members were taken into consideration when these vases were being produced as these methods have no purpose beyond aesthetics if an involved and thinking viewership was not expected. Therefore the relationship between vase and viewer was intentional and intimate. This in turn would influence the content of such imagery as this itself would need to satisfy the expectations of a more involved viewer.

1.3.4. Setting and the symposium

When considering the audience of vase images it is important to look at the various settings in which these vessels were seen or handled. According to Henderson (2000: 6) from far back in Greek history and well into the 4th century BCE the symposium played a vital role in their society. Although the proceedings did involve a fair amount of drinking and revelry, there was a central purpose of intellectual discussions on the state of the city, education on philosophy and social values, and important networking (Henderson 2000: 6 & 11). One of the most important and persistent characteristics of the Greek symposium was the complete exclusion of all women barring those required for entertainment and service including dancers, musicians and *hetaerae* (Henderson 2000: 16). Bearing this in mind it is important to note that the scenes found on these vessels used at the symposium would therefore have been viewed predominantly by men.

The majority of vessels to be referred to in this thesis, including the cup, oinochoe, and krater, are generally accepted to have been used for the storing, mixing, and drinking of wine in the setting of the symposium (Woodford 2004: 41 – 42). Certain vessels were almost standard to the proceedings of the symposium each with their own function. These were the amphora and the hydra for the storing of wine and water; the krater for mixing the two liquids before serving with a jug (oinochoe); and the kalyx and other cup shapes for drinking the wine (Murray 2009: 511). While shape dictated the function and context within which these vessel were used most figured vases made in Greece were likely destined for the symposium (Lapatin 2007: 148; Steiner 2007: 232). Osborne (1998: 139) notes that the most prevalent vessel at a symposium was also the one that forced the most intimacy with the viewer; the cup. As previously mentioned the red-figure technique offered a greater sense of realism and therefore engagement with the viewer but Osborne adds that this technique coupled with the close proximity of some vessels resulted in viewers becoming participants in certain scenes. These images were not detached representations but rather inclusive windows eliciting an emotional response from the audience (Osborne 1998: 149). This suggests that the images on vases and drinking vessels present at the symposium were intended for deliberate and prolonged spectatorship which increases the significance of the choice of depictions on vessels intended for this drinking party. The engaging nature of these sympotic vessel-shapes coupled with the didactic nature of the symposium supports the argument that the majority of figured vessels were intended for discussion and instruction emphasising the importance of the reading and interpretation of their imagery.

1.3.5. Ownership

This close link between vessel and viewer would therefore play a role in influencing the content of vase imagery as it depended on the tastes and inclinations of the owners and audience of these vases. According to Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 116) there were four main reasons for the ownership of art works: firstly there was the glory that would be transferred to the honoured party, be it the city, a deity, or family; secondly a degree of status would be bestowed upon the owner of a particularly remarkable piece; thirdly a sense of pleasure through the appreciation of the aesthetic value of a well-crafted object; and lastly the degree of functionality and use, especially true for pottery (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 116). An indication of the elitism of certain vessels is the restrictively high prices of figured vases. A five-figured fifth century Attic vessel may have sold for as much as 3 drachmae. It is believed that 1 drachma would have constituted a day's work for the average man and in modern standards could have been equivalent to \$100, rendering these vessels very expensive and impractical for the common man to own (Boardman 2007: 157). However Boardman does add that the simpler the decoration the cheaper the vase would have been implying that the less wealthy were not limited to undecorated vases but would probably not have used these for every day functions (Boardman 2007: 157). This great cost of figured vases may have restricted the number of buyers and therefore viewers of this type of imagery. However certain social attitudes would not have been limited to the wealthy and it is unlikely that the high price of vessels would have affected the nature of social convictions reflected in vase imagery.

As previously discussed archaeological evidence suggests that the majority of figured vessels would have been used at the symposium. Taking into consideration the high prices of certain vessels and the number of participants, which Henderson (2000: 17) places at a minimum of 14 but going up to 30 men, these drinking parties would have been quite expensive to equip. Boardman (2007: 156) however claims that a more viable option was available in the form of a *keramos misthosimos*. This potter would hire out the needed vessels to the less wealthy for sympotic occasions but also came to the aid of the richer men who were under-equipped for the odd larger party (Boardman 2007: 156). The ownership of vessels was of course not limited to intra-city trade and the likelihood of export resulted in a greater audience and the possibility of unexpected contexts. It will therefore be important to establish the degree to which foreign markets may have influenced the content of vase imagery or whether Athenian tastes were stronger.

1.3.6. Trade and potential foreign influence

For an indication of whether a foreign, possibly unintended audience ever viewed Attic vases it is important to establish the degree to which these vessels were exported from Athens. Boardman

(2007: 153) describes the potters' quarter of Athens as a thoroughfare through which potential customers could walk and inspect the wares themselves at the location of production. A second way of attaining vases was to buy them immediately where the vessels were required such as at temples and graveyards for votive offerings. Although the majority of these customers would have been Athenian citizens it is likely that many of these vessels would have been traded throughout the Greek world and even further (Boardman 2007: 153). Both Boardman (2007: 165) and Miller (1999: 69) offer evidence that some of the exported vessels were in fact tailored to suit foreign tastes as suggested by foreign-orientated content and non-Attic shapes. However the majority of these markets may not have had any influence on the production or content of the imagery of these vessels. One of the most prolific markets for these Attic wares, Etruria, had no real involvement in the trade and simply bought what was on offer regardless of decoration (Boardman 2007: 155). It is also likely that the international export of a vase and its relevant intrinsic value was dependent more on its use and contents than decoration. According to Miller (1999: 66) after wine was transported to Egypt from Athens the amphorae were emptied and then used to transport water to Syria. Clearly here the vessel was simply the tool of trade and not the object. Miller (1999: 68) terms these vessels "use-goods" and explains that they were simply used by traders to transport their primary goods and were not the subject of trade themselves. However she does add an example of vessels being traded to the East, namely the Levant, which were valued for themselves, such as drinking vessels, and not merely as containers of other products. However emphasis was not placed on their decoration or vase painting as these vessels were mostly presented in black-gloss indicating the irrelevance of any function beyond drinking (Miller 1999: 68). Decoration appears to have held greater significance for the Athenians who produced the vessels than for the non-Athenians who also seemed to buy them.

Fullerton (2000: 34) claims that the majority of Athenian art was not concerned with the inclusion of foreign viewers. None of the iconography or images had to be explained to the Athenians, the primary target audience, indicating that those who did not comprehend the intention of a piece were not taken into consideration (Fullerton 2000: 34). While it may be difficult to ascertain the degree of influence of foreign tastes on Athenian vase imagery it is quite likely that the majority of these Attic vessels may have been produced solely for an Attic market in mind. While there may have been a small degree of foreign influence on vase design it is more likely that the majority of Athenian vases and their images would have expressed Athenian themes. Therefore the images concerned in this thesis most likely held significance for and were viewed and interpreted by Athenians. The next section will focus on the role and influence of the potter and painter in the production of vase images and whether the personal sentiments of the craftsmen were expressed in

their wares or whether market demands and social expectation were strong enough to dictate the nature of the representations on vases.

1.3.7. Potters, painters and personal opinion

Other than the possible influence from audience members a more imminent influence may be posed by the actual producers of the vessels. Robertson (1991: 4) claims that an important, and even a defining, aspect of Greek culture was their fierce individualism. This is most evident in their tendency to claim ownership or invention when it came to certain achievements including the arts, such as poetry and plays, and sport in which personal victory was honoured in sculpture and records. This was no different in the creation of vases where potters and painters openly named themselves in their work and even used this medium to challenge others (Robertson 1991: 4). This addressing of rivals can be seen on an Attic red-figure amphora in Munich from the late sixth century signed by Euthymides. On the vessel depicting dancing, bearded men Euthymides has added in Greek ὅς οὐδέποτε Εὐφρόνιος (as never Euphronios) openly mocking the rival painter (Clark, et al. 2002: 1). This personal voice clearly indicates the degree to which certain potters and painters reflected themselves in their work which has implications for the study of vase painting. If a craftsman was able to make such a personal statement on a piece that would probably have been sold on the open market, was he also likely to include personal opinions on certain social conditions?

Boardman (2007: 172) argues that this would never have been the intention of any potter or painter. While the vase images are a reflection of the society in which they were produced, Boardman claims that they would never have been state-influenced or propagandistic in any way and rather than enforcing an opinion they express the common attitude of the day similar to gossip, hymns and poetry (Boardman 2007: 172 – 173). Boardman however claims that certain images were not intended as social commentary but rather depicted generic scenes which simply met the tastes of an “unthinking public” (Boardman 2007: 172 – 173). Fullerton (2000: 43) supports this assessment saying that although art was produced in the city-state for the polis the depictions were not always politically motivated. This view however that these images are simply generic thematic copies and hold little significance for interpretation is somewhat erroneous in that these images would still have to meet a public and social expectation. So while they may not be commenting on a topical political issue they are still reflecting the desires or distresses of the Athenian people who purchased them; a community far from “unthinking” but rather well aware of their socio-political conditions and responsibilities.

According to Pericles' Funeral Oration as recorded by Thucydides the Athenian public was expected to be politically well-informed while those who were not were regarded as irresponsible and peripheral (Thuc. II.40). Pericles is purported to have said in this speech that he who does not involve himself in political discussions or acquire any knowledge pertaining to this was not thought to be reserved in his opinion or involvement but rather lacking any form of social commitment and therefore not worthy of the city (Thuc. II.40). While the intentions of both Pericles and Thucydides with this speech can also be taken into consideration, a positive public reception may have been more influential than one man's personal motivation. From this it can safely be assumed that a certain political slant would have been present in many vase images not out of desire to influence the public but to graphically represent the contemporary attitude of a politically aware society. This in turn renders the abovementioned generic scenes and depictions significant in the study of the social reflection in vase painting. According to Boardman (2007: 226) a number of unique and seemingly unexpected vase images were produced that apparently met no market demand. However the fact that these images were novel or unique does not suggest that the potter or painter deliberately intended to influence the Athenians with regards to public opinion. As these vessels would still have to satisfy the reflection of public attitudes, the development of new vase imagery suggests a shift or change in social perception and expectation. In this way vase imagery did not precede and therefore influence shifting Athenian social convictions but was rather sensitive to the change in social climate and reflected these after the fact.

Conclusion

In this first chapter it has been established that Greek craft was less influenced by individualism and more by the socio-political climate. The works produced did not express the personal opinions or feelings of the craftsman but rather the shared attitudes and expectations of the society within which they were created and bought. This tendency also led to the overtly patriotic images on state monuments such as the Parthenon which indicates the degree to which social attitudes and convictions were reflected in Athenian art. While these artworks were predominantly state-funded and possibly influenced by propaganda, more private pottery vessels reveal the more unconscious social attitudes. The nature of pottery in Athens and the argument for symbolism and metaphor in vase images is supported by evidence suggesting a high degree of viewer involvement in vase imagery. Beyond the domestic Attic market the potential for foreign customers and viewership was also a possible source of influence. However even though certain vessels and images were intended for export the majority of these vases were purchased purely for their shape and use, rendering the influence of a foreign audience on vase painting minor compared to that of Athenian consumers.

This chapter has established that although there were a number of potential sources for propaganda or other influences to be present in vase images, the overall conclusion remains that these vessels would have only reflected the prevailing social attitudes in Athens. Bearing this degree of social influence in mind the next chapter will look at the nature of Athenian society and the impact this had on the Athenian image of the 'other'; attitudes that would effect the way the 'other' was depicted in Attic vase painting.

Chapter two: The nature of ancient Greek and Athenian identity

“Self-definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined”

(Friedman 1992: 837)

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the development and nature of Greek and Athenian identity. This will start with a general, anthropological look at the ways in which identities develop and how this relates to Greek people. This will be followed by a discussion on the nature of Greek identity and the problem that arises due to disunity within Greece. For a more focussed study the structure of Athenian society will be examined. This will include a look at the involvement of the ‘others’ in Athenian society, metics, slaves, and Athenian women, and the role they play in the progress of the polis. This will lead to a discussion on the perception and reception of foreigners in Greek culture and society, start with an examination of the nature and methods of Greek colonization. This initial contact between Greeks and foreigners then resulted in cultural stereotyping of which the Paphlagonians, Scythians, and Thracians will be looked at as an indication of the Greek perception of ‘others’. The reception of these foreign cultures in Greek society will then be examined so as to establish the degree of foreign influence on Greek culture. The final section will focus on Amazons. As fictitious creations of a patriarchal society their existence and development is of particular significance. This will include a discussion of how their representation and reception changes over the centuries and the link between Amazons and the discourse of Athenian identity. This chapter will be important to establish the attitude towards foreigners in Athenian culture and the degree to which the Athenians reflected themselves and their culture in their treatment and representation of the ‘other’.

2.1. An anthropological approach

The above quote by Friedman suggests that the establishment of identity is a reactionary process. This holds significance for the formation and development of ancient Greek and Athenian identity. As waves of social and political change occurred during the fifth century this led to multiple redefinitions of this identity in reaction to these changes. Recent studies into the nature of Greek ethnicity reveal the difficulty of trying to delineate a unified and homogenous Hellenic identity (Coleman 1997: 176; Konstan 2001: 29; Walbank 2002: 234). The same can be said for Athenian identity which underwent a number of re-evaluations leading to redefinition throughout the century.

According to Hall (2007: 53) ethnic self-awareness is at the mercy of ever changing historical conditions resulting in its fluid and evolving nature. Konstan (2001: 29) supports this by adding that due to 1500 years of constant Greek relocation through migration, immigration, colonization, and nomadic tendencies Greek identity could not have remained unchanged over these years but was rather influenced by other cultures with which it came into contact.

The anthropological models laid out by Bentley (1987: 25–27) on the nature of cultural identity – instrumentalist, primordialist, and the theory of practice – provide a useful framework through which to investigate these fluctuating self-identifications, Hellenic and Athenian. The instrumentalist models claim that due to a great disruption in the established cultural awareness a community will redefine itself by creating a new shared identity (Bentley 1987: 25). However this differs from the primordialist models which suggest that when faced with a threat and under duress a community will often not generate new traits but rather fixate on those characteristics most fundamental to their shared identity, which Bentley (1987: 26) claims satisfies the deeply rooted human need to belong. He argues though that while these two views are useful in explaining the transformation of established identities they do not answer for the original drawing together of individuals into a collective identity. According to Bentley this can be addressed through the theory of practice which claims that an individual will be drawn into a community when they consciously become aware that they share a common habitus. This habitus includes common behaviour following implicit guidelines while unconsciously striving towards the same goals using more or less the same methods to achieve these. Bentley adds that this common behaviour, which will then draw individuals together into a community, is a result of the convergence of unconscious rationality and can often be along the lines of gender roles, values and morals, and shared concerns (Bentley 1987: 27 – 28). To summarise this framework: a community is formed once individuals group together along lines of shared unconscious cultural and behavioural traits, which can be termed the primary identity, until such a time of great social and political upheaval leads them to consciously redefine themselves. This occurs either through the creation of a new identity, which can be referred to as the secondary identity, or by reverting back to traits from their primary identity. In either instance it is clear that a community will only explicitly define itself when it feels this identity is challenged which emphasises the human need for and unconscious preoccupation with self-awareness. This supports Friedman's statement (1992: 873). Identity or self-definition is a reaction to external pressures; a result after a challenge.

Using this anthropological approach it will be possible to examine the nature of ancient Greek identity as one which was hinged on reactions to great political and social events. This in turn will make it possible to observe the similar reactionary nature of Athenian identity of the fifth century.

Finally it will be argued that this change in Athenian identity is unmistakable in the artistic representations of this transformative period.

2.2. The problem with Greek identity

According to Walbank (2002: 234; 236) Greeks were never regarded as one nation until their colonisation by Rome and only temporary periods of a unified front occurred under serious threat to freedom, such as the Persian Wars of the fifth century. This is in accordance with the instrumentalist and primordialist models (Bentley 1987: 25 – 26). Even the development of the first Greek political societies was a slow process as they may have originated in the Dark Ages but were still possibly incomplete by the sixth century (Hall 2007: 45). When these communities were developed they took the form of the polis or city-state. However even though there were hundreds of these independent poleis, which were sometimes allied to each other, they never united into a single nation (Coleman 1997: 176). The format of this seemingly isolated existence would naturally have resulted in the development of independent identities which, in agreement with the theory of practice (Bentley 1987: 27 – 28), would have been along lines of common cultural and behavioural traits.

The self-definition of Greek citizens was primarily focussed on family ties, the community, or polis and they seldom looked to regional or wider connections for ethnic awareness (Hall: 2009: 604). There are, however, as previously stated, moments from archaic Greek history that generated a greater sense of specifically Greek ethnic awareness. These include, in particular, the establishment of early Greek settlements in southern Italy in the late eighth century, and the Persian Wars between 490 and 479 BCE (Hall 2009: 605). In both cases Hall explains that the increased contact between Greeks and foreigners resulted in two different reactions and ways of self-identification. The first was for the Greek settlers to analyse the differences between themselves and the indigenous people which created a heightened awareness of what it meant to be Greek. The second reaction was more aggressive, with the Greeks creating a ‘barbarian’ antitype which they could now use to define themselves through opposite characteristics (Hall 2009: 605 – 606). In both cases the process of self-definition was in response to the external pressures of foreign contact with the nature of the change, benign or aggressive, an equal reaction to the nature of the contact.

Once again the models as defined by Bentley (1987: 25 – 26) can be seen in the Greek reactions to the external challenges to their identity resulting in the explicit defining of a Greek culture. However the earliest unity of the eighth century was hardly a lasting connection. Hall adds that before the sixth century there is no literary reference to the term ‘Hellenes’ as an inclusive name for

the Greek people, only to ‘Panhellenes’, the prefix of which only stresses the wide variety of people defined by this term (Hall 2009: 607). Thucydides claims that before the Trojan War, which he does not date, Greece was never referred to as Hellas and that the land was divided along tribal lines and not united in any way. He goes on to explain that these states only became allied once the son of Deucalion, Hellen, joined other states which lead to the term ‘Hellenic’, but that it was only much later that this became the predominant name (Thuc. 1.3). This once again illustrates the nature of Greek identity as one of smaller independent poleis within an encompassing alliance of other city-states while still maintaining their individuality.

This loose sense of Greekness could then be appealed to in challenging times. This can be seen in one of the most obvious and openly stated promotions of Greek identity. Herodotus has an Athenian reply to a Spartan envoy that Athens would never betray “the Greek people, its blood relation and common tongue, god and temples, rituals and customs and common lifestyle” (Hdt. 8.144). This clearly follows the primordialist models of defining a community by emphasising the original and fundamental traits of that culture (Bentley 1987: 26). This is a clear indication that a greater Greek awareness was being considered and discussed during the Persian Wars as well as the lines along which this ethnicity could be identified. However it remains that the identity of the polis still took priority over that of any possible national awareness. For a more focussed study into the reactionary nature of identity it will be necessary to look at specifically Athenian examples of self-identification in the context of the fifth century BCE.

2.3. Fifth century Athenian social structure

Placing the population at more than 100 000 inhabitants, Coleman (1997: 176) claims that Athens was the largest polis among many much smaller city-states in Greece during the fifth century (although Pomeroy, et al. (2004: 63 – 64) add that not all Greek communities were organized into poleis but chose instead the looser *ethnos* with its lack of central government). The dominant nature of Athens is supported by Agard (1957: 39) who states that the mid-fifth century saw the city flourish into the Mediterranean leader in cultural, commerce, and the military while ruling an Empire of 200 city-states. By the late tenth century Athens was already in control of the Attic region of Greece and the later synoecism – or joining of smaller villages under Athenian rule – saw the city fast becoming a dominant force through trade and colonisation. Unlike other poleis at the time, these settlements did not strive for independence, resulting in a united Attica. Now in political unity, all those in Attica thought of themselves as Athenian which was a significant development (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 111). This is significant in that the Athenian identity was now no longer limited to those living within the city walls. The adoption of this specific self-awareness by

individuals who were not necessarily Athenian suggests that it was not only important to belong to a community in Greece but to share a strong and superior identity. Athens' rise to an influential power in Greece resulted in the attraction and adoption of the polis' appealing identity.

The government of Athens soon developed into an aristocracy under the war archon or *polemarch*, the administrative *basileus*, and the overall control of the *archōn*. These three men were later joined by six judicial *thesmothetai* forming the nine archon body. Although elected to these positions those eligible to run were limited to the few Eupatrids (aristocratic families) (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 111). The Athenian citizenship body was then divided into *oikoi* (households) which belonged to a *phratry* within one of four *phylai* (tribes). According to Pomeroy, et al. (2004: 112) membership to a *phratry* or brotherhood was the basis for proof of early citizenship from the seventh century. The aristocracy was also divided into *genē* (clans) which fell under a single dominant aristocratic *oikos* (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 112). This complex defining of membership and its ultimate definition of citizenship emphasises the importance of self-awareness and belonging in Athenian society. An individual would always know where they belonged in their community and with whom they were associated which was probably instilled from very early on.

However Athens was not only a city for Athenians and not even solely for Greeks but rather a cosmopolitan hub made up of a wide variety of people of all trades and nations which Samons (2007: 3 – 4) concludes became an “intellectual hotbed” during the fifth century. Of the total population of Athens during the classical period (estimated at about 100 000 but possibly as high as 400 000 inhabitants), Samons (2007: 4) estimates that there were only 30 000 to 40 000 citizens. While this number seems oddly low, citizenship was not granted to all those born in Athens but was rather limited to those who met specific requirements. According to Patterson (2007: 153) the Athenians were highly conscious of the social and political divisions that existed in their city and sought to protect these separations in their three categories of metics, slaves, and women. This is supported by Hall (2000: 131) who argues that ethnic identity becomes most central and emphasised in societies with multiple ethnicities such as Athens during the fifth century.

2.4. ‘Others’ in Athenian society

2.4.1. Metics

According to Fisher (2006: 338 – 339) the definition of citizenship in the poleis was something that had always been an issue for law makers as widespread mobilisation and immigration from early in Greek history resulted in ethnically diverse population bodies. These laws were aimed at separating

the Athenian citizen body or *politai* from free foreigners (*xenoi*), slaves, and helots. This legislation became more sophisticated in the fifth century with the registration of all resident aliens, termed metics (*metoikoi*). They were required to register themselves through a citizen representative (*prostates*) after a predetermined period of time after which the metics were required to serve in the military and pay a monthly poll-tax of one drachma. Although this amount was quite low it served rather as a symbolic reminder of the distinction between Athenian citizens who lived in the city by birth-right and the metics who were permitted to stay (Fisher 2006: 339). From this it is clear to see that citizenship was not something to be taken lightly but rather a separating factor between the rightful participating inhabitants of Athens and those who were simply allowed to live within its walls.

While Fisher (2006: 340) claims that the Athenian attitude towards these foreigners varied between hostility and acceptance, Patterson (2007: 162) argues that the underlying ancient rules of *xenia* would have halted any unsavoury reactions and fostered a degree of reception. Although Athenian citizenship was guarded even from the time of Solon, foreigners who met certain criteria, including exile and economic contribution, could attain this status. However this relatively open attitude to citizenship would later be tightened and become more restrictive. The importance of and reverence for this citizenship is emphasised by the way in which foreigners were rewarded this status through dedication and contribution to the city. As a metic made a greater contribution to Athens he was awarded a status equal to that of an Athenian – he was given the right to own land and eventually he received the most coveted prize of full citizenship (Fisher 2006: 340). This use of citizenship is evidence that the Athenians felt that the right to completely belong to their city was an achievement towards which everyone should strive. This in turn not only emphasises the importance of citizenship in general but specifically of *their* citizenship.

The new legislation on Athenian citizenship came in 451/0 with Pericles' citizenship law, which limited citizenship to men born to two citizen parents. According to Patterson (2007: 163) this legislation was inevitable with increased pressure, both domestically and externally, politically and socially, for the distinction between rightful citizens and others to become ever more clear-cut in both law and society. While Patterson (2007: 163) stresses this new, very strict line drawn between foreigners and Athenian citizenship, this did not, it seems, affect the welcoming nature of Athenian society. Foreigners were given access to the city with a high degree of foreign inclusion in certain areas including limited participation in the Panathenaic games (Fisher 2006: 343). While they protected their citizenship from any sort of free-for-all admittance, the Athenians were by no means isolated and exclusive with their social interactions with foreigners and clearly welcomed anyone who was interested in their fine city. Pomeroy, et al. (2004: 163) support this by adding that

although foreigners were not permitted to own land and therefore had to live in rented homes, they were never socially shunned and mixed in with the various citizen families with ease as well as contributing to the intellectual class.

2.4.2. Slaves

Freedom was highly prized in Athens making its opposite, slavery, a terrible prospect for a citizen (Patterson 2007: 155). With the development of democracy Solon became a voice for the enslaved Athenians around 594 as he reformed the laws of debt and made it illegal to use any person or their property as collateral for a loan. He expanded on this *seisachtheia* and eventually saw to it that all Athenians sold into slavery in other lands were returned home. However this leniency was not extended to non-Athenians and enslavement of foreigners continued as usual (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 114). Patterson (2007: 155) summarises this into the simple yet profound idea that “Athenians are not slaves and slaves are not Athenians”. This distinction was soon linked to citizen status with a slave’s body in essence becoming his/her identity. She also notes that with the development of more clearly defined citizenship regulations, slaves became the exact opposite of what it meant to be an Athenian citizen (Patterson 2007: 156). It is then clear to see that slaves were treated accordingly; as non-people. The physical punishment that slaves frequently received was ever-present in contemporary literature and theatre. At the same time the Athenians were aware that the indiscriminate beating of their slaves came with both moral risks to the beater’s soul and physical danger from the slaves themselves. However the latter could be averted with the employment of a non-Greek slave from a nation believed by the Athenians to lack any courage and therefore avoid the risk of future retaliation (Fisher 2006: 334 – 335). Racial stereotyping was apparently so common in Athenian society that they even staked their safety on it.

Slaves made up a very large portion of the population of all states in Greece with Fisher (2006: 327 – 328) estimating that almost 25 per cent of the labour population were slaves and mostly of non-Greek descent. Athens was no different with almost all land owners (most Athenian citizens) using slaves. However an actual number could only be guessed at (Fisher 2006: 333). A reason for this could be gleaned from Pomeroy, et al. (2004: 161) who describe the slave population as a “muted group” implying the lack of a personal voice to come from their side. This may account for the uncertainty in their numbers as they were regarded more as commodities than people and would probably have warranted little administration and recording.

The prevailing attitude amongst wealthy Athenian citizens was that any employment requiring a superior under whom they must work was beneath their status. This resulted in many slaves working in the craft industry such as weaponry, pottery, and textiles (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 161).

Therefore slaves were not only engaged in but essential to the economy of Athens while their labour also freed up farmers to partake in political matters in the city (Patterson 2007: 156 – 157). Although slaves were treated as chattel and shown very little humane consideration they were not completely exploited. Of the 86 identifiable workers who contributed to the building of the Erechtheion, 20 slaves received the same wage as the citizens and metics they worked alongside (Patterson 2007: 159). Slaves were able, through manumission, to escape this lifestyle and graduate to freedmen. However these ex-slaves were still required to fulfil certain duties for their old masters, a status termed *paramone* (Fisher 2006: 337). Even after release from their slavery these men and women still contributed to the city and, as they clearly would have numbered in their thousands, free or not, this contribution would have been significant.

2.4.3. Athenian women

According to Roberts (2011: 65) Herodotus' *Histories* contains 375 references to women which includes the differences between Greek and foreign females. Herodotus notes how Egyptians seem to have a reversed society in that traditional roles of men are now pursued by women (2.35). Of the Massegetae he claims that "indeed each man takes a woman as a wife, but these women are common to many" (1.216), while amongst the Auses paternity, an important part of Greek society, is decided by resemblance (4.181). While the undertone of these observations is not approving, Herodotus seems to have found at least one custom that he does not only commend but finds "μὲν σοφώτατος" (indeed most wise) (1.196). He records a custom apparently shared by the Babylonians and the Eneti of Illyria in which all girls of appropriate age are brought together and subsequently auctioned off to prospective husbands. This practice is conducted in order of beauty with the poorest buyers receiving money to take the least desirable ones away. Herodotus seems dismayed that their "κάλλιστος νόμος" (finest custom) was no longer used but does note that economic ruin was avoided through the later prostitution of all lower class girls (1. 196 – 199).

From the latter it is clear that it is not the objectifying treatment of women that offends Herodotus but rather it is the apparent lack of control that foreign men have over their women, who appear to have a certain degree of freedom, and the gender-role reversal which the historian finds distasteful. Women in Greece would never have been afforded the level of 'freedom' apparent in the extracts above, although still at the mercy of men, and this compromise would not have been good enough for the average Greek male citizen. According to Pomeroy (2006: 351) the identity of a society includes the status and treatment of their women. This makes Herodotus' observations all the more significant in that with the Greek practice of self-definition through polar opposites, deductions can be made about Greek society by way of their reaction to foreign behaviour (Pomeroy 2006: 351).

As Herodotus records the various customs of nations around Greece, Roberts (2011: 50) states that the historian partly set out to indicate the Greekness of his nation by pointing out the ‘otherness’ of all non-Greeks. This process, as previously discussed, is vital to the development of self-identification as Hall (2000: 33) notes “ethnic identity can only be constituted by opposition to other ethnic identities”, an idea supported by Browning (2002: 257). Herodotus does not seem to judge but rather lets his audience come to their own conclusions about the cultures around them and their own Greek culture as well. He appears to set a social climate within which Greek culture exists and while similarities may have come to the fore it is the unusual that he highlights and it is these differences that Roberts (2011: 50) claims were widely discussed in Herodotus’ Greece. This suggests that Greek society was in the process of defining itself and that self-awareness was becoming an important issue.

As stated above the status of women ought to be considered when investigating the identity of any community (Pomeroy 2006: 351). From Herodotus’ observations this appears also to have been realised by the fifth century Greeks. According to Patterson (2007: 167) one of the most common misconceptions is that all women in Athens were the same regardless of birth and circumstance. There was, however, a clear distinction between slave women, metic women and citizen women or *astai*. Although actual economic and political citizenship was reserved for men, Patterson (2007: 168) argues that Pericles’ fifth century citizenship law (451/0 BCE) requiring a citizen to be born of two citizen parents indicates the importance of the mother’s status as a citizen. While it may be interpreted that this law called rather for the citizenship status of the maternal grandfather, Patterson claims that the use of *aste*, the feminine form of *astos*, denotes ‘insider’ as opposed to ‘outsider’ (*xenos*) which indicates the inclusivity of the citizen body. This is supported by the particularly Athenian use of the feminine *politis* when referring to citizenship (Patterson 2007: 168 – 169). The inclusivity of women in Athenian society can also be seen in religious practices where Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 114) argues that women played a very important role in highly regarded public religion. However she does add that although women were afforded a certain status in Athenian society this was qualified by their link to a male guardian or *kyrios*, both privately in the *oikos* where the man was the head of the household and publically where men were the legal majority (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 113). Therefore Athens retained its status as a male-dominant society in which women were given licence as far as it suited men. This included legal rights such as protection against slavery and physical harm afforded to male citizens which were also afforded to female citizens (Patterson 2007: 170). Therefore women were not completely undervalued but rather their value was attached to service in a male society.

While men were still the dominant group, Athenian society was not geared towards alienating citizen women but held them, rather, to a different standard. This probably stems from the mythological origins of women as attested by Hesiod in his *Theogony*. According to Hesiod Zeus punished man in exchange for fire with “κακὸν” (an evil) (*Theog.* 569 – 570), which took the form of the first woman who brought on “the destructive race and tribe of women” (*Theog.* 590 – 591). However the curse also meant that who-so-ever chose not to marry these new evil entities would reach “ὄλοον . . . γῆρας” (deadly old age) alone and without assistance (*Theog.* 604 – 605), rendering women no more than a necessary suffering. Considering these ancient preconceptions in a society steeped in myth-history it is no wonder that fifth century Athenian men had reservations about their women. According to Greek thought, evident from the above quotes, women were different and ‘other’ compared to men. Foxhall (2009: 488) goes so far as to say that Hesiod saw women as a different species. Therefore women could not be held to the same standards as men and, more importantly, they were not able to make decisions affecting men; Stewart (1995b: 86) states that *gynaiokratia* (female dominance) was to be feared and avoided at all costs in Athenian society. Athenians could not envision living in a world where women were more powerful than men and when they did imagine it the frightening result was the Amazons. With this ‘scare image’ in mind, Athenian men were quick to protect their interests and keep women out of the daily running of the city.

With the strict laws that governed who was considered a rightful citizen of Athens and who was an actual outsider, it is important to note that without these ‘others’ Athens would have come to a socio-economic standstill. Without metics and slaves there would have been very limited economic activity and the city would have come to a grinding halt while the absence of women would obviously have spelled the end of the population, be it citizen or other. It is important to understand the social structure of the Athenian community as this will affect the self-identification of the Athenians and the subsequent representation of this identity.

2.5. Athens’ acceptance of other cultures

2.5.1. Greek colonialism

The Greek colonization movement, starting in the eighth century and halting in the early fifth century BCE (Antonaccio 2007: 201; Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 65), resulted in contact between Greece and other nations. This subsequently led to the development of the ‘Greek-Other’ relationship. This colonization was frequent and persistent with new colonies being established throughout this period. The nature of this early contact developed into the transfer of ideas and customs stemming

from a good degree of reception from both sides (Antonaccio 2007: 201 – 202). Although migration does account for some of the relocation of certain nations, there were two other methods of setting up satellite groups. The first was the *emporion* or trading posts through which commerce could take place closer to foreign resources and markets. The inhabitants of these settlements were from a wide variety of nations and the mixture of cultures was quite likely. Examples include Al Mina and Pithekoussai on Ischia. The second method was through the *poleis* which were more permanent with residents of predominantly the same origin (Antonaccio 2007: 203).

Trade was most likely the strongest motivation behind the colonization movement, with Euboean Greeks soon joining the early northern Syrian *emporion* at Al Mina. Not long after this a new trade post was developed in southern Italy offering more Greeks the opportunity to farm and trade resulting in an economic upturn for much of Greece (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 54). The Greek term for these new settlements, *apoikia* or “[home] away from home”, reveals just how similar they were to their *metropoleis* (mother cities) with relations between Greeks and indigenous peoples ranging from hostile to accepting (Antonaccio 2007: 204).

This new ‘home’ however was ultimately an independent polis as original citizenship was the first thing to be lost by the new residents (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 66). This regulation is indicative of just how closely guarded citizenship was; if you were to abandon the polis, the polis would abandon you. A possible reason for this law was that some of the *apoikia* residents could have been *personae non gratae* much like the aristocrats who sought new homes in Persia after political reform in the west (Miller 1999: 98). This increased presence of Greeks in the east and the Mediterranean would inevitably lead to the exchange not only of trade commodities but also ideas, customs and traits. For the Greek people living in these colonies now having lost their original citizenship, forging a new identity along the lines of old customs and new influences would have been quite likely. This suggests a combination of the instrumentalist and primordialist models of identity formation (Bentley 1987: 25 – 26). Whether this was a conscious decision or simply from a ‘when in Rome’ attitude it would probably have differed for families and individuals. The most dominant culture, Greek or, even more specifically, that of their polis, would probably have been the most apparent. Certain practical applications however, such as dress suited to a different climate, would have had a strong influence. This relationship of exchanging and blending would not have been limited to colonial contact between Greeks and foreigners abroad but would also have found its way back to the Greek mainland and into its cities.

2.5.2. Perception of the ‘other’

By the sixth and fifth century foreigners were a common sight in Greece as the depiction of these people in vase painting suggests (Coleman 1997: 182). Contact between Greece and foreign cultures often resulted in a range of ethnic stereotypes which Bohak (2005: 208) claims reveal more about the judging community than the stereotyped. As previously discussed self-definition through opposition to another culture is an important part of ethnic awareness (Hall 2000: 33; Browning 2002: 257). Browning (2002: 257) adds that the stereotyped culture may simply be made up of contradictory customs and behaviour and that it did not actually exist. The Amazons would be an example of this. While these stereotypes may be negative and often lasting they can be revealing about certain social attitudes and conditions present at the time and within the culture of production (Bohak 2005: 209). However these attitudes were not always constant and could often change from favourable to indifferent or even hostile. Homer for instance describes the Paphlagonians as “μεγαθύμων” (magnanimous) (*Il.* 5.577). By the fifth century however this attitude had changed as possibly evident in Aristophanes’ *Knights* where Paphlagon is described as “the dirtiest, vilest liar ever” (7; trans. Dickinson 1970: 51). While Bohak (2005: 211) argues that the reference is more to the detriment of the politician Cleon, the Paphlagonian nation still inspired these sentiments or was at least a suitable proxy. While this is but one example, for a nation to be used as a colloquial insult in a dramatic performance suggests that a wider public acceptance of the stereotype existed. This attitude could also turn into disinterest with Herodotus, the great ethnographer himself, giving only a few minor and very vague references to Paphlagonian geography (1.7) and dress (7.76). The Paphlagonians are just one example of the many nations that came to be described and stereotyped by the Greeks.

While Paphlagonians may have been left more or less literarily unscathed by their contact with Greeks, Scythians seemed to receive a terrible reputation. Bohak (2005: 217) claims that the early image of Scythians was in fact positive but, as can be seen from the Paphlagonian example, this image was subject to change. Herodotus gives an account of how the Scythians blind their slaves and states that they are nomadic by way of explanation for this practice (4.2). While this obviously does not sufficiently explain the reason for the supposed blinding the historian does not seem to feel Scythian actions are worthy of justification. While praising the Scythians for their ability to escape and evade an enemy, he explicitly states that “otherwise [he is] unadmiring” of them (4.46). The image of this nation soon became more articulated in Greek society with drunken behaviour and scalping being the most common stereotypes. These were expressed through what Bohak refers to as “ethnic verbs” including περισκυθίζω, ἀποσκυθίζω, and ἐνσκυθίζω (2005: 219). These are centred on the verb σκυθίζω which refers to either drinking or behaving like a Scythian or shaving,

referring to Scythian scalping customs. The various prefixes ('in reference to', 'descent', and 'in accordance with') emphasise the Scythian origins of this behaviour. Miller (1991: 67) suggests that this drunkard stereotype stems from the tradition that Scythians consumed undiluted wine. As it was customary for Greeks at symposiums to mix their wine with liberal quantities of water, the act of drinking neat wine would have been viewed with disapproval (Henderson 2000: 19). Greeks therefore use this trait, whether founded or not, as a point of distinction and even as evidence for Greek cultural superiority.

This reference to Scythian drinking habits can be seen on the tondo of an Attic red-figure cup in Basel (BS1423) attributed to the Chaire Painter (fig.5). In this image a figure in Oriental clothing is seen sleeping while a rhyton has been painted beneath him. Mitchell (2009: 82 – 83) argues that this man can be identified as a Scythian by his felt cap, bow and arrows and patterned clothing which could also place him in the Scythian police force employed in Athens. This was clearly not a positive image as according to McNiven (2000: 71 – 72) self-restraint or σωφροσύνη was one of the most important cardinal virtues and lack thereof was a sign of unmanliness. There was a degree of ambiguity in the depiction of Scythians. While on the one hand they were seen as dim, coarse, and cruel they were also regarded as excellent in their justice which Bohak (2005: 219; 221) labels as a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" character. What eventually comes to the fore is a blundering nation that is bad at everything while admired for some things; the go-to characters for comedy and ire alike.

Thracians were another nation to bear the brunt of Greek disdain. Seen as savage, wild, and stupid, Thracians were often depicted in art with distinctive beards, tattoos and behaviour (Tsiafakis 2000: 364). According to Herodotus even though the Thracian nation was a considerably large one they would never rule over an empire simply because he saw them as weak (5.2). While not seen in a positive light Thrace was depended on for trade in slaves, metal, grain, and timber. In the sixth century Peisistratos brought Thracian slaves to Athens and through travel and alliances connections were made with this nation resulting in their military, political and practical importance (Tsiafakis 2000: 365). Due to the terrain and high population of Athens the city relied on external trade for support. Grain was the most important commodity and was supplemented by iron, hemp, cattle, and slaves from the Black Sea region (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 162 – 163). Though Coleman supports the idea that there was a need for foreign trade, he suggests that the level attested in ancient literature is probably a gross underestimation due to social disdain of the 'lowly' activity. Greece relied on almost all the known nations of the ancient world for products ranging from food stuffs to perfume, which they traded for local pottery and olive oil (Coleman 1997: 184 – 185). Even though certain cultural traits of foreign nations amused or repulsed Athenians they still depended on these nations for the livelihood of their city.

2.5.3. Reception of the ‘other’

Although these three examples, among many other stereotyped nations, do not lend themselves to Athenian acceptance, it would be wrong to assume that Athenians were adverse to all things foreign. Rather Athens was a melting pot of culture and this is evident in the high degree of receptivity of traits and tendencies of other cultures. Although this may have simply been a result of novel interest and fascination many borrowed, foreign innovations were adopted for their practical applications. However for a culture to be accepting of foreign customs and paraphernalia and to adopt these traits into their own self-identity it does not automatically indicate the subservience of the adopting culture.

Athenians were fascinated by all things foreign which is evident in the way Herodotus describes other nations in his *Histories*. When giving an ethnographic survey of Indians in Pactyica and their means of transport by camel, Herodotus feels it unnecessary to describe the general appearance of the animal as his Greek audience would be familiar with the image (3.100 – 103). He picks out rather that which is most unfamiliar to his Greek audience adding that “the genitals are turned around through the hind legs towards its tail” (3.103). Rood (2006: 296) claims this restriction on Herodotus to explicitly please the interests of his Greek audience is evident throughout the text and the historian makes numerous comparisons between the familiar Greek world and the exotic foreign lands. This method of highlighting the strange for the enjoyment of the Greek audience clearly reveals their appetite for foreign eccentricities. Whether these are in fact ethnic stereotypes is difficult to say as Herodotus may have either invented them himself or heard them independently. The discussion of Athenian society in the previous section of this chapter, while divided along citizenship lines, gives the impression of a culturally diverse community. This diversity along with the abovementioned Greek fascination with the foreign resulted in the inevitable adoption and adaptation of foreign traits. While certain values and customs of these exotic cultures were not seen as acceptable due to the Greek attitude of cultural superiority (Rood 2006: 298), benign objects such as art, clothing and military paraphernalia were adopted in a variety of ways.

According to Coleman (1997: 185) Greece was heavily influenced by its surrounding foreign cultures. It can be argued that the receptive nature of Greek society can be traced as far back as the eighth century with the beginning of the orientalising period in vase painting. According to Whitley (2003: 200) this new technique allowed for more picturesque art which could then develop into the later black- and red-figure techniques. Mythical animals such as griffins and chimaeras also started to appear alongside palmette and lotus designs with Semitic loan words such as *chiton* (linen tunic) and *deltos* (writing tablet) being incorporated into the Greek language (Hall 2009: 612). What may appear to be quintessentially Greek was in fact adopted from other cultures.

Hall however argues that it is unlikely that when these motifs were being employed in Greek art and society they still carried the connotation of their original foreign culture. He also adds that it would be wrong to assume that ancient Greek culture simply consisted of a blend of foreign traits and symbols (Hall 2009: 612). This appropriation should be seen as Greek societies integrating certain features for pragmatic necessity. Herodotus himself is almost disappointed when relating how Scythians “shun terribly those foreign customs and practices of others” (4.76). From this it seems that Greeks were not only accepting of certain exotic cultures themselves but saw it strange that others were not. To expect Greeks to ignore all surrounding influences would require them to reinvent the wheel when they could simply adopt an already successful invention. This is a clear example of how a degree of not only tolerance but acceptance of foreign influences can progress a culture. It is also evident that these adaptations do not replace cultural traits but enhance an already existing social identity while not requiring the adopting society to think very highly of the culture by which it is influenced.

One of the most pertinent foreign influences when dealing with identity in art is the Athenian adoption of foreign dress. According to Cohen (2001: 235) clothing in the fifth century was not only an indication of gender, status and wealth but was also used as an ethnic identifier. The wearing of certain garments allows for a society to create and identify divisions within a community (Cohen 2001: 236). For instance even amongst Athenians themselves certain garments were indicative of an individual's social standing. Pipili (2000: 178 – 179) claims that this can be seen in the use of hats. The metalworkers' scull caps, grooms' caps, and a rural man's *pilos*, were used in vase painting to indicate lower social classes. She adds that these were coupled with depictions of manual labour, rough features and plain clothes so as to emphasise the social inferiority of these individuals (Pipili 2000: 179). As previously stated Athens was a cosmopolitan city in which a diverse range of people lived and worked. However it is due to this diversity that Athenian citizens felt the need to explicitly define themselves for fear of losing their identity through cultural merging (Cohen 2001: 242). While this may have been the case this did not stop Athenian men adopting certain items of clothing from foreign cultures.

Images appear in Attic vase painting which show men in non-Greek dress. While it was common to see foreigners in Athens, Cohen (2001: 243) points out that these men do not possess further foreign characteristics and their hair, beard and names confirm them as Athenians. While it could be argued that these images are metaphoric and that the men are ‘playing the other’ and are about to engage in non-Athenian indiscretions, Cohen argues the contrary and that the adoption of these garments is more for practical applications, which seems more likely (2001: 243 – 244). One such application was a soft cap of foreign origin which was worn under the helmets of many Athenians in battle.

While it could be seen as a Persian cap and therefore a possible message to all future enemies, it is more likely that the cap offered protection under a very hard helmet (Cohen 2001: 244). Items of Thracian dress were also adopted into Athenian attire. Herodotus describes traditional Thracian dress as a fox skin cap, a long, brightly coloured cloak over a tunic with long fawn skin boots (7.75). However it was not only Thracians who wore this clothing. As the people of Thrace were traditionally horsemen (Homer, *Il.* 13.4), their clothing would be well suited to horse riding, more so than the short *chiton* usually worn by Greeks (Geddes 1987: 312). Many Athenian horsemen adopted the garments, so much so that it became customary, either to impart Thracian fierceness on them in battle or, the more likely option, to keep them warm and protected. However these items were not worn as an ensemble but rather as accessories over a predominantly Athenian outfit (Cohen 2001: 247). It is most likely that the adoption of Thracian clothing was mainly for practical reasons and Athenians were not about to sacrifice comfort simply because they did not approve of the original nation.

Evidence of the degree to which Thracian garments were incorporated can be seen on an Attic red-figure psykter in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (1996.250) attributed to Smikros (fig.6). Produced around 515 BCE the vessel depicts young men in Thracian cloaks riding horses. Their clothing and the way they handle the lively horses may identify them as Thracian but the accompanying inscription bearing their names confirms they are Athenian (Cohen 2001: 249). For these youths to be almost mistaken for foreigners could indicate the level to which Athenian society had been orientalised by all the Eastern cultures with which they came into contact. It could therefore be argued that Greece was somewhat conquered by the nations she felt so superior to; much like Horace's Rome: "*Graecia capta ferum victōrem cēpit*" (Captured Greece captivated her wild captor) (Horace, *Epistulae* 2.1.156). However Cohen argues that it is in fact the opposite which is the more likely. In incorporating foreign pieces of clothing into a predominantly Greek outfit or using these items in a Greek setting these garments are possibly transformed into trophies and display Greek superiority over the 'other' (Cohen 2001: 251). This argument is quite plausible. These adopted items can be regarded as symbols of a foreign culture and possibly this foreign nation's military power. When these items are worn by Greeks this military symbolism becomes neutralised. As the Greeks wearing them were presumably able to defeat the original owners of these items so too will they defeat the next. These may therefore be images of warning and reflections of Greek military and cultural dominance. Certain items do come with obvious practical applications such as offering comfort and can therefore be taken at face value while some are more difficult to interpret as their presence is somewhat out of place or redundant.

A further adoption of an exotic accessory in a sympotic setting also lends itself to the symbolic reading of these items. On an Attic red-figure cup in Florence (3922) attributed to Douris (fig.7) the symposiast on the left is seen wearing a clearly foreign headdress. There have been varied interpretations of this Oriental *kidaris* which can be seen on a small number of wine and drinking related vessels. These vessels were at the height of popularity between 500 and 480 BCE, although produced from 510 – 450 BCE (Miller 1991: 59). As shown above, the Athenians often adopted foreign elements of clothing therefore it can not simply be assumed that the wearer of this cap is automatically a foreigner. According to Herodotus “[for] nearly all other foreigners it brings great shame for a man to be seen naked” (1.10), while Miller claims that the only foreign men to be depicted nude in Attic art were archers (1991: 64). As can be seen in the image on the Douris cup the three reclining men are all naked above the waist. Add to this the lack of archery equipment in the scene and the *kidaris*-wearing symposiast looks less foreign and more Athenian. According to Miller (1991: 62) the style of this *kidaris* is similar to the cap worn by Scythian archers as identified in Attic vase paintings which Sparkes (1997: 137) describes as soft with side- and back-flaps.

An already mentioned persistent stereotype that was linked to the Scythians could offer an insight. As discussed above certain verbs were used in connection with the nation, which even lead to a common sympotic expression implying immoderate indulgence: ‘to drink like a Scythian’ (Mitchell 2009: 83). Therefore the wearing of this cap at a symposium could simply indicate the nature and the intended events of the party. Miller however argues that the early stereotyping of Scythians, while linked to their drinking of unmixed wine as well as milk, focussed more on their rude and rowdy behaviour and did not specify overindulgent drinking. As consumption of both beverages was seen as barbaric, ‘drinking like a Scythian’ does not need to specify which liquid is being drunk for uncouth behaviour to be intended. Therefore the phrase cannot automatically be linked to intoxication. She adds that as the wearers of the *kidaris* are not depicted very differently from the other symposiasts, neither in behaviour nor setting, the hat does not imply any change in usual conduct (Miller 1991: 68).

A comparison with the later Latin phrase *Greaco more bibere* – to drink in the Greek manner – is useful. Once again the phrase does not simply indicate the amount of drinking or the behaviour of the symposiasts but rather the adoption of sympotic customs that were seen as characteristically Greek, such as reclining on the left elbow (Murray 2009: 512). As the practice of reclining while eating was originally adopted from the near east (Murray 2009: 514), the inclusion of this eastern hat could simply be a reminder of the origins of the sympotic practice. In this sense the hat does not seem out of place at all. Another argument is that the *kidaris* is a symbol of the Eastern king and the wearer therefore must be the *sumposiarchos*. However Miller (1991: 67) states that there is no

supporting evidence that this hat alone can signify the position of king. What seems the most likely reason for the wearing of the *kidaris* simply links back to the Greek tendency to adopt foreign clothes into their own ensemble. The Greek symposium was an aristocratic form of socialising and the majority of the symposiasts would have come from this class (Murray 2009: 508). As sixth century Persia was a rich, aristocratic society, Miller (1991: 71) argues that it is likely that the Athenian symposiasts adopted this Eastern accessory as an elitist statement. According to Miller (1999: 153) fashion played a large part in the adoption of foreign items of clothing into Greek society. While the abovementioned *kidaris* could be seen as a social statement, the resultant connotation of luxury and wealth would have made the hat fashionable amongst those who wanted to flaunt their means. This item is different from the abovementioned soft cap worn under a helmet as the *kidaris* has no obvious practical application in the setting of a symposium which could only leave it open to symbolic interpretation.

Whatever the reason behind the adoption of foreign items of clothing into Greek dress, the fact remains that this was common practice. It can therefore be said that the appearance of these exotic items should not be viewed as cultural surrender but as an extension and enhancement of the Greek identity. This appropriation of different traits is not indicative of a desire for a foreign lifestyle but rather a characteristic of ‘Athenianess’. The adoption of a slightly foreign appearance did not change the way in which Athenians behaved, merely the way they looked. Therefore this is not a sign of cultural weakness rather an indication of strong ethnic self-confidence (Cohen 2001: 251). It is the Athenian self-assurance in their identity which allowed them to alter their self-image without losing sight of it, which only confirms that appearance had little to do with identity. While it was used as an identifying factor in art, outward appearance was not seen as more important or even equal to customs and conduct (Cohen 2001: 261). Miller (2000: 427) concurs, arguing that certain individuals or nations were regarded as “ethnically alien because [they were] ethically alien” with unfamiliar social and moral customs denying any cohesion between different cultures. Once again identity was linked to values and behaviour. This allowed Athenians to adopt foreign traits at will while remaining ‘ethnically pure’ if they retained and were true to their traditional mores.

2.6. Amazons and Greek society

No foreign group is more ethically different from the Greeks than the mythical Amazons. What makes Amazon mythology interesting and different is that its existence in Greek culture is so unexpected. For the idea of a formidable female enemy to develop from a strict patriarchal society holds great significance for the interpretation of this mythology. Amazons are some of the most

persistent and symbolically powerful figures in Greek mythology and can be seen throughout Greek history.

The earliest artistic representation of Amazons is seen on an Argive votive shield in Nauplia (4509) produced between 700 and 680 BCE which was found in a bothros or offering pit at Tiryns (fig.8) (Langdon 2008: 67; von Bothmer 1957: 1). The outer image consists of five figures of which four are engaged in fighting while the fifth lies on the ground beneath them. The two figures moving from the right have been identified as Amazons due to their crude breasts, unbearded chins and their longer *peploi*. This differentiates them from their two male opponents who sport beards and wear shorter tunics and are therefore male Greek warriors. The fallen figure, while poorly preserved, is likely part of the latter group (von Bothmer 1957: 1). According to Langdon (2008: 68) the longer garments bear resemblance to those of Assyrian design employed by early Greek artists to indicate Amazons which supports the case for the identity of these two figures. Beyond their general characterisation the precise identity of the main warriors is contentious. Scholars either argue for Achilles or Herakles for the central male figure, while the main Amazon has been named as Penthesilea which ultimately depends on the outcome of the former argument (von Bothmer 1957: 1). However the individual identity of the warriors is not important when considering this image.

Even from the earliest found representation Amazons are clearly depicted as ‘other’ from their opponents. Not only is this ‘otherness’ represented by their gender but also by the eastern aspects of their dress. Beyond this fighting scene which is not given a clear context the Amazons are characterised as a foreign, eastern enemy. This has later repercussions when referring to the argument that Amazons were not only used in fifth century art as a substitute for Persians (Hardwick 1990: 32 – 33; Stewart 1995a: 590 – 591; Veness 2002: 95). However the ‘otherness’ of Amazons, while part of their identity, may not set the women apart from Greeks as much as indicate the ‘Greekness’ of the women.

From the earliest art and writing depicting and describing Amazons, these female warriors have been closely linked to the Greek self-image, a notion supported by Hardwick (1990: 15). In Homer’s *Iliad* they are described as “ἀντιάνεια” (equal to men) (3.188). Interestingly the *anti* as a single entity can denote worth or value (Liddell and Scott 1889: 68), which may reveal a degree of reverence for Amazons. They were clearly never seen as weak or regarded as a lesser foe but rather as an enemy that was worthy of battle and whose defeat would elevate the status of the victor (Langdon 2008: 69). The femininity of the Amazons in these early literary and artistic references is not a central characteristic. They are fearsome warriors who are ranked amongst other famous, dangerous enemies and once defeated a soldier is transformed into a hero (Hardwick 1990: 16).

Even on the Tiryns shield the only figure to appear wounded and possibly dying is a Greek lying on the ground beneath the action. This immediately elevates the threat of the Amazons as they have claimed first blood in this fight (Langdon 2008: 69). The danger of the Amazons however is not only limited to their prowess on the battle field.

Ancient Greeks often preached the danger of a matriarchal society. In later representations the reputation of the Amazons changes from one of worthy opponent to a social threat. In Herodotus' account of the women the Amazons kill their Greek captors after the battle at Thermodon and make for Scythia. Once there they are cast as invaders and steal from the confused Scythians, who seem to receive the historian's sympathy. After fighting the Amazons for some time the Scythians realise that their enemies are women and immediately alter their strategy in order to procreate with them (Hdt. 4.110 – 112). The Scythians' reaction and the levelled tone with which Herodotus relates it shows the dramatic change in the Amazon myth. Now the women are no longer seen as an enemy against which a reputation can be forged but rather they are viewed like any other women. Their fighting ability is now not their main characteristic but rather their gender. The issue that now comes to the fore is the delineation of their appropriate place. They must be controlled and bow to social convention by becoming wives and mothers: the expected role of women.

Herodotus continues that once the Amazons realise the intentions of the Scythians they do not resist the advances of the young men but eventually settle down as their wives. While there is initial insistence from the Amazons that they be left to live on their own, they start to regret the damage they have caused and meekly concede to live with their new husbands (Hdt. 4.113 – 116). In this account there is no reference to the past heroes who faced down the formidable Amazon enemy to claim status from their victory. Rather they fight off youths who then succeed in subduing the warrior women. The Amazons of this story come across as a group of wild outlaws of a bygone era who exist on the fringe of the new civilised world.

Stewart (1995a: 576) notes that this is one of the Amazons' most persistent characteristics. When they come into contact with the 'civilised' world they are forced, without much resistance, to conform to this new age. They surrender their obsolete lives as solitary warriors and become socially acceptable community dwellers. This story from Herodotus shows the Amazons apparently seeing the error of their ways and acknowledging the necessity to now belong to a society based on family values. According to Tyrrell (1989: 45) without this social polarity of Amazon customs Amazonian mythology would not exist and it is this difference from Greek patriarchy that gives substance to Amazons and keeps them active in Greek myth-history.

The Amazons then are depicted in complete contrast to established ancient Greek society based on the *oikos* which is controlled by the husband and father. Their depiction as such shows the Greek desire to illustrate the danger of a matriarchy (Lefkowitz 1995: 19). The possibility of this wild culture over running the controlled and prosperous male-dominated society would have caused fear for all men. The reputation of Amazons as “ἄνδρποκτόνοι” or man-slayers (Hdt. 4.110) shows their lack of empathy and mercy. These women would not want to live alongside men, in contrast with the current ‘congenial’ situation, but would rather kill all those unnecessary for the continuation of the Amazon race. The Amazon mythology was used as social warnings to all those who wanted to go against the grain of society.

Other than the previously-mentioned obvious danger of *gynaikokrateia*, this mythology was used as a further warning. According to Stewart (1995a: 574) to only interpret Amazons as a reversal of Greek society is to ignore the centuries of their depiction in art when gender segregation was not as delineated or strict. Rather the Amazons of these earlier depictions were used as examples for those who rejected society and community living. These Amazons were a caution to the recluse. Stewart argues that if Amazons only represented the suppression of women, then Centaurs, a traditional equivalent to Amazons, were a metaphor for the suppression of horses which he adds was highly unlikely for the horse-loving Greeks (Stewart 1995a: 574). While this may border on fallacious reasoning as Centaurs were also fifty per cent man and could just as simply by this logic be images for the suppression of men, the argument is still valid. Just as it would be too simple to interpret a complex figure such as a Centaur in this manner so too would it be for Amazons. For Amazon mythology to be seen only as male dominance over women is too narrow an interpretation. However any argument concerning their gender would still be pertinent especially in light of the social climate of the fifth century.

The fifth century in Greek history was one of great social reshuffling and the defining of gender roles was becoming increasingly important (Stewart 1995a: 578). Hardwick (1990: 23) supports the notion that a change occurred in the Greek perception and reception of Amazon mythology. . The earliest perception is definitely one of reverence and respect. The life of an Amazon was not seen as very different from that of an elite warrior and therefore warranted admiration. However the Amazons were soon viewed differently by Greeks as the mythology has them leave their eastern homelands and come into contact with the West. Once this occurs Amazons are no longer seen as individual warrior women but rather a group of invaders who now threaten the Greek way of life. The final image of Amazons is one akin to vermin who should be eradicated so as to preserve the civilised status quo. This perception is characterised by the submission and defeat of the outsiders who are viewed as inferior; a very different treatment from the Homeric admiration (Hardwick

1990: 23). In each case the treatment of Amazons is an indication of the Greek self-image. In the heroic age the defeat of Amazons was used to enhance a warrior's personal reputation as a hero while in later periods this defeat was used to emphasise a community's identity as a patriarchy. To depict an Amazon was to reflect on the self. This is supported by Henderson (1994: 85) who argues that Amazons and the way in which they are depicted are commentary on nothing other than the Greek culture that created them.

The typical mid-sixth century black-figure depiction of an Amazon has her dressed in Athenian clothes, resembling a hoplite. These scenes show the Amazons engaged in the same activities as any Greek soldier such as arming and riding. At this time it was exceptional for an Amazon to be depicted in oriental garb. With the development of the red-figure technique came the emphasis on the Athenocentrism of the mythology, Amazons in eastern dress, and the increased depiction of larger battle scenes (Hardwick 1990: 29). Von Bothmer (1957: 6) notes that images of Amazons are scarce before 675 BCE when the depiction of these warrior-women "[arrives] suddenly, and in force, without any apparent antecedents". One hundred years later Amazons made their debut in Attic vase painting in a similarly dramatic rise in popularity (Veness 2002: 96). This can be seen in the table in fig.9 where the number of recorded Amazon images goes from 0 to 56 out of 752 vases after 575 BCE (Stewart 1995a: 594).

The representation of Amazons in the fifth century is often interpreted as a metaphor for the Greek defeat of the Persians in the beginning of the century. However this is too narrow a reading as it ignores all other inferences placed on Amazons before and after the events of the wars (Hardwick 1990: 32 – 33; Stewart 1995a: 590 – 591; Veness 2002: 95). The earliest representation seen on the Tiryns votive shield depicts the Amazons in long Assyrian dress (Langdon 2008: 68). A representation on a late seventh to mid-sixth century bronze shield bands shows an Amazon wearing a shorter tunic but still distinctly different from her nude, male Greek opponent. By 575 BCE Amazons begin to be depicted in Attic vase painting and the main distinction is the white paint used to highlight their gender. In these scenes, apart from being female, Amazons are distinguished from their Greek enemies by their accessories such as weapons and helmets (Veness 2002: 95 – 96). However Veness (2002: 96) points out that these items are not particularly non-Greek as they are worn by Greek soldiers in contemporary vase paintings. The appropriation of foreign dress by Greeks makes it difficult to discern whether these exotic items or patterns seen on Amazons were used to depict typical foreign dress or rather new Athenian tastes. The fact that the clothing of an Amazon was not limited to one nation but rather a combination of foreign elements makes them less 'other' and more similar to Athenians. As Athenians supplemented their own identity with foreign dress so too did they enhance the image of Amazons. In vase painting, clothing was used to identify

foreign nationals which would therefore limit these foreigners to a certain dress code. Scythians are obvious in their patterned long sleeve suits; Thracians in their boots and caps; and Persians wearing their trousers, tunics and pointed shoes (Sparkes 1997: 137; 139; 142). Amazons and Athenians however were not limited to any one costume and could even be dressed the same in a single vase painting (Veness 2002: 97). An example of how Amazons were depicted in a variety of foreign dress can be seen on a cup in Naples (M1135) attributed to the Eretria Painter (fig.10). Here the five Amazons wear clothing identifiable as Persian, Scythian and Greek. Items from each of these figures were regularly worn by Athenians themselves (Miller 1991: 71; Veness 2002: 102). Henderson (1994: 132) goes so far as to say that this image becomes “the deconstruction of the differences between ‘Greek’ and ‘Barbarian’ and between ‘Male’ and ‘Female’”. Amazons and Athenians were united rather than further divided in their diversity as they escape any strict stereotyped appearance other than gender.

Amazons remained however the ultimate ‘other’. While Scythians, Thracians and Persians were foreign they were all real nations who really existed with many of their habits and paraphernalia being adopted into Athenian society as previously discussed. Amazons however existed only in Greek imagination and myth, remaining in a distant land, detached from Athens. The Amazon homeland was always a far-off place and most importantly outside Greece (Tyrrell 1989: 56). When contact is made with Athens, the Amazons are repelled and defeated, but never assimilated into Athenian society like other foreigners. Even as the Athenians expanded their world to the east through trade and settlement, the home of the Amazon always remained on the outskirts of the known world (Tyrrell 1989: 56). What makes Amazons unique from other Athenian enemies is that they were perceived as a real threat but from an imagined land. This only greatly increases the significance of the creation of these figures. While they are some of the most feared and despised figures in Greek myth-history they were also among the most popular in art.

Much like the stereotypes created about other foreigners, such as Scythian drinking habits being a commentary on Greek self-control, so too are Amazonian characteristics an indication of Athenian social values. The main difference is, of course, that living Scythians inspired their stereotypes while Amazons were from Greek imagination. The development and change of Amazon mythology therefore reflects the development and change of Athenian society (Hardwick 1990: 15). According to Tyrrell (1989: 125) the Amazons of classical Athens were used to state and explain the realm of religion, the military, and society. The detachment of Amazons from Greek society allowed the Athenians to explore their own social issues through the figures of the warrior women without social upset. Langdon (2008: 77) argues that as Amazons were ambiguously located between the world of men and women, they were used to push the boundaries of Athenian social thought in a

purely, and safely disconnected, hypothetical context. This is supported by Veness (2002: 99) who argues that Amazons were not only foreign enemies against whom Greeks could define themselves but were also viewed as a ‘domestic other’ who challenged the status quo of Athenian society. The invention and persistence of Amazon mythology indicates the fluctuating nature of Athenian identity which required constant focus and affirmation. Through the depiction and description of Amazons, Athenians reveal their desire to know and confirm who they *are* by visually exploring who they *are not*.

The use of Amazon imagery has been tracked throughout Greek vase painting. Other than von Bothmer’s extensive survey in 1957, a table (fig.9) developed by Stewart (1995a: 594) makes it possible to track the popularity of the Amazon figure in Attic vase painting. From this table it is possible not only to see the fluctuation in the representation of Amazons between 625 and 325 BCE but also the types of scenes and their periods of popularity. An example would be the change in hero battle scenes from Herakles (4) to Theseus (13) in columns *c* and *d* respectively around 450 BCE. The time periods that are pertinent to this study are the four between 500 and 400 BCE. In this hundred year period the statistics of Amazon imagery vary greatly. It is therefore important to analyse the Amazon mythology during the respective periods alongside the socio-political climate of each. This will in turn illustrate the link between ‘other’ images and Athenian society. This one hundred year period is a time of great transformation in Athenian society and throughout this era Amazon imagery is used to discuss and delineate the self-image of the city and its inhabitants.

Identifying and understanding the link between the representation of Amazons as ‘others’ and the dialogue on Athenian identity in the fifth century is important when studying the development of Athenian self-image. Stewart argues that Amazon mythology goes through four main periods before 400 BCE. These are Homeric, Archaic, the Persian Wars, and Periclean Athens (Stewart 1995a: 576). For this study it will be important to concentrate on the latter two periods. This study will also include a further period of the build-up to and the events of the Peloponnesian War as the last quarter of the fifth century is unique in its dramatic drop in vase production and subsequent Amazon imagery (fig.9). This rapid fall in production of Amazon depictions in 425 BCE is as significant as the meteoric rise with which they started in 575 BCE. While other foreigners themselves exhibited actual behaviour and traits, Greeks were left to project any number of characteristics onto Amazons as they were not restricted by reality. With interactions between Greeks and Amazons being purely fictional, the nature of these depictions becomes more important. The next chapter will analyse the nature of ‘other’ depictions in Athenian art of the fifth century in correlation with the socio-political climate of the time and the subsequent implication for Athenian identity.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to examine the nature and development of Greek and Athenian identity, the way in which foreigners were received in Greek society, and the way in which foreigners reflected Greek identity. In this chapter it was established that Greek identity was not well-rooted and self-definition was primarily polis-based. It was then argued that the articulation of identity in art was necessary for the development and maintenance of said identity. The discussion then turned to the structure of Athenian society and the strict divisions that existed. It was concluded that although separation was maintained between those that were considered true citizens and those that were seen as 'others', these 'others' were still important to the development and progress of the polis. This led to an examination of the relationship between the Athenians and non-Athenians by looking at the result of this contact. This relationship started with colonization and trade and the result was various forms of cultural stereotyping. Through these stereotypes it was possible to see that Athenians believed their culture to be far superior while the 'other' was often seen as a source of humour. However a degree of reception did occur with special attention given to clothing for practical and even symbolic applications. The adoption of these foreign items even became part of what it meant to be an Athenian. The final section of this chapter dealt with the Amazons in Athenian culture. As the treatment of Amazon mythology and imagery changed along with Athenian society it became clear that these figures were intricately linked with the Athenian sense of self therefore becoming commentary on the Athenian identity. This was only emphasised as these women became more domestic and Greek-like over time. Overall this chapter was able to show the close link between the representation of the 'other' and the Athenian self-image which becomes significant in the next chapter.

Chapter three: Reflections of the ‘other’ and Athenian identity in vase painting

Introduction

This chapter will start with an examination of the prevailing Greek identity at the start of the Persian Wars (490 – 479 BCE). This will be followed by an analysis of the Amazon imagery that was produced during this period and the social implications of this. A discussion of the prevailing social climate will then be necessary so as to establish the possible social expectation and attitude influencing the imagery produced. This will conclude with a look at ‘other’ imagery and Athenian self-image reflected by this during the Persian Wars. The next section will focus on Periclean Athens (450s BCE). This will start with a look at the possible self-image of Athenians as reflected in vase imagery prior to the 450s. This will be followed by a discussion of the social context surrounding the production of these vessels including the opportunities and difficulties facing the Athenian community. An examination of the Amazon imagery produced during the mid-fifth century and the implications this held for the contemporary Athenian identity will follow. The final section will focus on the period of the Peloponnesian War (431 – 404 BCE). This will start with an analysis of the Amazon vase paintings produced during this time and the Athenian identity these reflected. These will be discussed in relation to their contemporary social context and the problems that may have occurred during the war. This discussion will also include the ‘other’ imagery of the Meidias Painter including the Judgment of Paris and the significance of this scene in relation to the social events of this period. This section will seek to answer the question posed throughout this study; what is the nature of fifth century Athenian identity and how was this reflected in depictions of ‘others’ in Attic red-figure vase painting?

3.1 The Persian Wars and Athenian identity: 500 – 475 BCE

3.1.1 The images of victory

According to Singor (2009: 601) at the turn of the fifth century, Greek city-states started to focus on hegemony and domination. These aspirations resulted in the emphasis on self-awareness and definition. The poleis wanted to be seen as distinct and unique while at the same time a call for Greek unity against a common enemy, namely Persia, arose (Singor 2009: 601). Athens was no different. While trying to keep a sense of strength through unity, Athens wanted to maintain her individuality and cultural identity. Sowerby (2009: 48) argues that Athens in the early fifth century

had started to place greater emphasis on her cultural self-awareness through the arts while at the same time Spartans sought their identity in the simple life. Although during the Persian Wars these two powers were able to unite to withstand the common enemy, albeit temporarily, they still sought to define themselves along their own lines. Images on vases produced in Athens in the early fifth century give an insight into just what her emphasised identity was.

When analysing the Amazon imagery of this period it is clear that the Heracleian Amazonomachy was a firm favourite in vase painting. While fewer scenes were produced in red-figure than black-figure they remained popular in the first quarter of the fifth century before disappearing in the mid-century (von Bothmer 1957: 133). According to Stewart's table (fig.9), between 500 and 475 BCE 96 depictions of Heracles/Amazon battle scenes were produced on two-thirds of all known Attic vases (see column c) emphasising its popularity. The first image for discussion is an Attic red-figure kantharos in Brussels (A718) signed by Douris (fig.11). According to von Bothmer (1957: 139) Douris produced this vessel between 490 and 480 BCE, during the period of the wars with Persia. This vessel depicts Heracles, as signified by his lion skin, fighting against Amazons. A second vessel, a cup also attributed to Douris, but only preserved through fragments is also said to represent a Heraklean Amazonomachy (von Bothmer 1957: 140). Placed in the centre of the Brussels kantharos Heracles is obviously the focal point or nucleus of this image. Dressed in his traditional lion skin the hero is depicted stabbing one Amazon whose pose suggests that this is a fatal wound. Three more Amazons frame this action; one standing in front of Heracles, another behind, and a third mirroring the lower angle of the presumably dying Amazon. These three are all making to attack Heracles but he seems undeterred and rather focused on the task at hand. The audience viewing this vessel would know from mythology that Heracles was the ultimate victor over his Amazon opponents (March 2009: 201). This knowledge coupled with the threatening approach of the warrior women serves only to enhance the hero's exploits. As the Amazons are not depicted completely dominated or weaker this emphasises their military ability and the threat they pose making Heracles' win all the more glorious. The Heracleian Amazonomachies produced during the first quarter of the fifth century mostly followed the same formula with minor variations of style or technique; Heracles is depicted in a position of prominence dominating Amazons, often towering over them. Other Greek figures may also be depicted as companions to Heracles and also fight the Amazons.

As discussed at the end of chapter two, Amazons were probably regarded as the ultimate 'other'. Everything they stood for was the polar opposite to Athenian society. According to March (2009: 184) Heracles was the most popular mythological Greek hero. Through his life of trials and great deeds Heracles became known as the Averter of Evil (*Alexikakos*). With his reputation for immense

strength, aggression, and insatiability, Heracles embodied the competitive heroic spirit and the desire for *arête* and *aristeia* (March 2009: 184). No greater hero could inspire the Athenian nation and foster the identity of a ‘man’s man’ who will face down the foe and rid the world of evil. Already the Athenians were driven by the heroic age’s spirit of honour through achievement and now they were to face what they perceived as a great evil, Persia, which needed to be eradicated (Billows 2010: 56). According to Gruen (2011: 21) this perception of the Persian Wars as Athens defending herself against the evil of the East can be gleaned from Herodotus. These wars came to be seen as conflict between polar opposites; reason versus chaos, freedom versus autocracy, and west versus east (Gruen 2011: 21). Emphasis was now placed on Us versus Them. If Athens was to successfully defend her new found freedom through democracy the city would have to become militarily orientated. This new emphasis is evident from the importance given to military positions in politics with the *strategoi* receiving greater focus after only the first battle of the wars (Billows 2010: 237; Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 131). If Athenians could identify with Heracles, the hero who fought for personal glory to defeat the enemy, the polis would be inspired to believe that they were capable of defeating their enemy.

When one considers Stewart’s table (fig.9) it is possible to see that during the Persian Wars Amazon depictions received a great deal of attention (500 – 475 BCE). While the vase paintings do show battle scenes between Amazons and Greeks, a total of 145 (see column g), it is also important to note that less aggressive scenes were also produced. These are labelled “other” in column i and total 143. Therefore this period of Amazon imagery cannot be seen as one of increased violence against Amazons. According to Hardwick (1990: 32) during the Persian Wars Amazons were not portrayed as negatively as other foreigners in art. While other barbarians received stereotypes of effeminacy, indulgence and cowardice Amazons were treated in the same way as before. Hardwick therefore suggests that these images recalled the past images in which heroes defeated Amazons to enhance their status (1990: 32 – 33). Scenes simply depicting Amazons not in battle could indicate the increase in interest in foreigners. As Persia came to learn more about the western Greek world, so too were Athenians becoming more aware of this eastern empire and its culture. With equal artistic focus placed on both Amazon battles and more benign scenes it is possible that Athenians were not simply viewing easterners as military opponents.

According to Stewart (1995a: 575) this dual portrayal of Amazons as both aggressive, such as in battle scenes, and more benign, such as in the ‘other’ scenes (column i), is evident throughout Amazon imagery. While it would be easy to see Amazon imagery in the early fifth century as simple metaphors for the fight against the Persians this analogy may be too limiting (Stewart 1995a: 583). As discussed in chapter two, Amazons were often depicted wearing eastern clothing to equate

them with distant lands. If Amazons were indeed meant to simply represent the Persian forces that were to be defeated they would be depicted on vases in at least eastern clothing if not Persian attire. The Brussels kantharos and a cup in the Louvre (G117) attributed to Douris (fig.12a) however have the Amazons wearing decidedly Greek clothing. This is evident in most Amazonomachy scenes of this time with these women wearing either a mixture of Greek and eastern clothing or resembling hoplites almost indistinguishably (Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981a: 637). The only feature setting them apart from their opponents are their feminine bodies. A volute krater also in the Louvre (G166A) attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (fig.13) emphasises just how similar Amazons and Greeks could appear, even in the same scene. The top image depicts Heracles and his fellow Greeks charging into the fight. The bottom image reveals the three figures the Greeks are fighting while a fourth lies at their feet, presumably dead. Even after careful inspection the Greeks and their opponents look exactly the same but they can still be identified as Amazons. Unlike the abovementioned kantharos and cup, the Amazons are not obviously female. Their armour, clothing and bodies are identical to the Greeks. The only possibly identifying features are the faintest outlines of breasts on their fallen comrade and the Centaur motif on one of the Amazon's shield as these mythical figures were often linked to Amazons (Stewart 1995a: 574). A further way of identifying the figures as Amazons is to use semiotics as discussed in chapter one. As Heracles is signified by his lion skin in this scene so too can the Amazons be signified by the presence of Heracles who here becomes the informant or identifying element. According to mythology this hero fought Amazons therefore his opponents would most likely be these warrior women. Other than this the Amazons and the Greeks appear as mirror images of each other heightening the ambiguity and link between these two.

When taken out of the context of the period in which these images were produced they appear to hold no political message and depict rather the age old theme of Greek hero versus Amazon. What is interesting is that the tondo of the Douris cup in the Louvre (fig.12b) depicts a clearly Persian male sporting a full beard being dominated by a Greek soldier. This seems to suggest that a link is being made between the fight against Amazons and the fight against Persians; but the former does not necessarily represent the latter. Rather the Amazons and the Persians independently represent the same thing; everything non-Greek. Amazons were therefore not substitutes for Persians but rather comparisons of 'otherness'. Once again semiotics can be used to link these two. In this scene a non-immediate event, the Amazonomachy, is given a wider context, the Persian Wars, through the index of the soldiers, linking the convictions, attitudes, and outcomes of the two events.

As Amazon imagery far precedes the Persian Wars, going as far back as the seventh century (Langdon 2008: 67), these images obviously developed their own connotations, most of which were

discussed in chapter two. According to Stewart (1995a: 584) while the Amazon-Persian link may be used to feminise the Persian force by equating them with women, he argues that Amazons were never seen as easy targets. These daughters of Ares were formidable and instead of showing the Persians to be weak through the Amazon link they are seen rather as a strong force against which Greeks could gain significant glory (Stewart 1995a: 584). Instead of focussing on weakening the enemy, which would hold no honour for the victor, emphasis is rather placed on the Greeks' ability to overcome their fearsome enemy, not once but twice. Tyrrell (1989: 125) suggests that the Amazon mythology with its inevitable Greek domination explains the unforeseen Greek victory over the far greater Persian force. As the mythology has Greek hero after Greek hero defeating the fearsome Amazons, so too would a Greek victory be inevitable over the Persians who are essentially just another foreign, eastern nation.

More explicit images depicting Greece defeating Persians were also produced. An example of this can be seen on an Attic red-figure cup in Edinburgh attributed to the Triptolemos Painter (fig.2). The tondo of this cup clearly shows a Greek fighting a Persian as identified by their clothing. The Persian wears his full leather cap and his decorated jacket over a long sleeved suit (Sparkes 1997: 142 – 143). The images on the exterior of the cup continue in the same vein with Greeks and Persians fighting. The tondo however shows clear Greek dominance. As discussed in chapter one, the framing of this image in the closed mode has restricted the fallen Persian's movements putting him at a disadvantage (Hurwit 1977: 1). The imagery of this cup could not be clearer; the undoubtedly eastern-clad soldier is being thoroughly dominated by his quintessentially Greek opponent. The Persian Wars left Athens as a clearly dominant military power and it is this characteristic that would now become part of the Athenian identity as evident in their vase painting.

3.1.2. Desire for personal glory

According to Billows (2010: 56) the early Greek self-image was deeply entrenched along the lines of military prowess and physical ability. He argues that this is mostly due to the strong influence of Homer's epics on the Archaic Greek attitude towards masculinity and self-worth. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the heroes are expected to achieve and maintain a certain reputation not only in battle but also on the athletic field. Being the best was the primary concern for all males whether against the enemy or comrades and this was used as both a public and personal gauge throughout early Greek society (Billows 2010: 56). This desire for excellence can be seen in Peleus' advice to Achilles "to always be the best and exceed all others" (*Il.* 11.784). Here Thorpe (1973: 29) notes that this is not only an aspiration to do well but to outclass everyone and in any way, even in deceit. In the *Odyssey*, Athena is clearly impressed when Odysseus, instead of telling the truth about his

past, invents a fantastic story. She praises his cunning ability and suggests that it would take only the best trickster to outshine him (*Od.* 13.291 – 292). Clearly the nature of the skill was far outweighed by one's ability to be the best at it. It is also evident that a dented reputation and momentary lapse in excellence is a serious and devastating blow. Thorpe (1973: 35) explains that not only is the hero's reputation important during his lifetime but after it as well. Due to the nature of the warrior's life, death was an imminent threat with little hope in the way of an afterlife. It is this grim expectation that fuelled his desire for a lasting name (Thorpe 1973: 35). Permanent personal glory was all that mattered. Even in the great battle scenes of the *Iliad* it is not the achievements of armies that receive focus but the spotlight is rather on single combat. Emphasis is placed on the warrior, his ability, and his lineage (Thorpe 1973: 36). Military ability became paramount to being a capable man in this early society.

According to Billows (2010: 56) this emphasis on physical ability was only replaced by inner virtue and moral behaviour with the writings of Plato and the teachings of Christianity. Before this, personal glory and being the best were the most important values held in Greek society expressed through *aretê* (excellence) and *aristeia* (being the best) (Billows 2010: 56). It is therefore safe to say that this ego-driven self-image was fundamental in the formation of early Athens and the identity of her citizens. According to Kyle (2007: 151) this competitive spirit lived on in the form of athletic games that perhaps derived from the original funeral games like those in the *Iliad*. He adds that these Greater Panathenaic Games were an essential part in society as well as religion. Even political figures including Solon, Pericles, Themistocles and Lycurgus used athletics as a tool in their campaigns (Kyle 2007: 150 – 151). This only serves to emphasise the desire for an expression of individual excellence even within a city.

While this competition resulted in the growth and development of many Greek poleis it also led to constant warfare which in itself meant civil strife and turmoil (Billows 2010: 58). According to Billows (2010: 58) this chronic fighting was the result of competition for the mere 20 per cent of suitable arable land in Greece and the livelihood it allowed with constant border wars erupting everywhere. As in the heroic age it is no doubt in these skirmishes that individual poleis could outclass each other and prove their excellence. As discussed in chapter two Greece was never a unified entity with each polis independent of the next and tensions rife amongst them (Sowerby 2009: 42). War was such a constant in Greek society that Singor (2009: 586) claims peace was simply an “artificial interruption” in the frequent fighting while Vernant (1988: 29) terms these “dead periods” between the “natural” episodes of fighting. A border dispute was probably the most likely form of fighting with tensions flaring up between bigger neighbours all vying for dominance (Billows 2010: 59). With farm lands and reputation equally at stake, each polis would fight dearly

for victory fuelling the already ingrained desire for excellence. Each polis feared subjugation and fought hard for autonomy and to be the best (Billows 2010: 59). This desire for superiority was intensified by what Vernant (1988: 29) claims was the pervasive human condition of conflict which took various forms including *Eris*, *Polemos* and *Neikos*. Greeks therefore would not have feared the confrontation but rather revelled in the opportunity to prove their military ability.

It is with this deeply rooted attitude of personal excellence and confrontation that Persia came to lock horns at the turn of the fifth century. With each city-state competing for individual glory and with over a century of military experience and hardening, Greece would certainly be a difficult opponent. The Greece Persia came to face was made up of fiercely independent and self-confident poleis who were aware of how far they had come and what they had achieved. They were certainly not about to have this eastern power sweep them aside (Billows 2010: 71). On the contrary, for Greece to face and possibly defeat what was then the greatest power in the known world could have been viewed as a rich source of personal esteem and honour, fuelling the competitive Greek spirit. The images produced during the first quarter of the fifth century do not show the hardships that Greece faced but rather a celebration of the Greek self-identity. These images reflect the lines along which Greeks identified themselves; the military dominance and cultural superiority that they felt over their opponents. Like the panhellenic Heracles in these images they came to see themselves as the united defenders of the Greek people and its culture against the amoral, non-Greek enemy.

An interesting image also attributed to Douris can be seen on an Attic red-figure cup in Baltimore (B.8; fig.14). The far figure is dressed in clearly eastern styles while the near figure appears to be wearing Greek dress including a short *chiton*. At a glance the clothing in this image seems to signify a Persian and a Greek running alongside each other in a uniform manner. The LIMC however identifies these two individuals as Amazons (Devambez and Kauffman-Samaras 1981a: 633; 1981b: 520, plate 759). The complete lack of any indication that these two are females however leads to the more logical conclusion that they are males. On closer inspection, using the signifiers of his clothing and apparel, it is more likely that this foreign figure is not a Persian but a Scythian. This figure's cap with its long side and back flaps is similar to that described by Sparkes (1997: 137) as a common Scythian accessory. As a complete view of his clothing is blocked it is difficult to distinguish whether he is wearing a Scythian one-piece, long-sleeved suit or whether he is wearing a decorated Persian jacket (Sparkes 1997: 137; 142). The argument for Scythian is also supported by the presence of a quiver and the fact that the man is barefoot, both being associated with this nation (Sparkes 1997: 137). The most likely interpretation of this image is one where this man is a Scythian. As the Athenians came to rely on Scythians as policemen in the fifth century (Sparkes 1997: 137), these foreigners were most probably included in the Athenian force against

Persia. Although they would not have been considered citizens they were still part of the community and also faced the same fate if the Persians were to take Greece. From an early stage in the fight against Persia, Greeks sought to unite in alliances to pool their resources against the common enemy. It is possible therefore that this image is a reflection of this unity, even if temporarily, under the same military identity.

This is one of the most significant moments in Athenian social awareness. Like the Athenian men who united to defeat the Persians at Marathon (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 130), they were able to overcome the well-known Greek weakness of disunity and because of this, beat the far greater Persian force. Democracy was crucial in the development of Athenian social- and self-awareness. As emphasis was now placed on individual voices and the power was given to the people, citizens became more invested in their city and united towards one goal. Therefore they were prepared to go head to head with any enemy in its defence as the results would be more personally felt. Herodotus (5.78) suggests that this new-found Athenian freedom meant that as they were no longer fighting for a master but rather themselves, this would make them the most formidable fighters. This suggests that Greeks may have realised that unity, however temporary, was possibly the only way for them to defeat the far greater Persian force and this sentiment seems to be reflected in Attic vase painting of this period. It is in Herodotus' account of the events of the Persian Wars, as discussed in chapter two, where an appeal is made to the traditions of Greek culture as a basis for unity (Hdt. 8.144). When considering the anthropological models Greece came to define herself at this time through the primordialist models' emphasis on already well-established cultural characteristics; language, religion, and customs. By appealing to the more fundamental aspects of Greek culture, present in the majority of poleis, Greeks were able to see themselves as temporarily united as can be seen in the panhellenic hero Heracles. As already stated the imagery of this period also reflected this appeal to the core values of the heroic ideal and it is this identity of age-old military prowess that the Greeks, including the Athenians, came to adopt in the first quarter of the fifth century.

At the end of the Persian Wars Athenians returned to a virtually destroyed city. Before life could continue as normal they had to rebuild their homes, fortifications and infrastructure (Lapatin 2007: 128 – 129). After the euphoria of defeating Persia the morale of the city took a likely dip at the sight of their ruined home. They had achieved so much against the odds but it came at a high price. It is understandable that they clung to one of the only things they had left; their military pride. As stated by Hardwick (1990: 32) “military virtues *were* virtues”, which was the legacy of the heroic age's emphasis on competition and excellence. However an identity that relies on military dominance is only useful as far as that dominance is required. This identity can only exist if the nature of the society remains unchallenged. Once this nature changes so too must the identity of the citizens. No

greater social reshuffling in Athens occurs than during the mid-fifth century where emphasis moves from military dominance to one of social reform.

3.2. *Periclean Athens and Athenian identity: 475 – 425 BCE*

3.2.1. Post-war posturing: the ‘Eurymedon’ oinochoe

The representation in vase painting of the change overcoming Athenian identity in the mid-fifth century appears to have had an interesting start. An oinochoe in Hamburg (Inv. no. 1981.173) produced around 460 BCE attests to this (fig.15). Said to be in the manner of the Triptolemos Painter this vessel depicts a Greek clearly intending to sexually assault a bent over foreigner. The latter figure has thrown his arms up in the air possibly in fear, surprise or resignation to the inevitability of his fate. He is also facing the audience drawing the viewers into the action which suggests that they do not avert their eyes from this violent act but rather pay full attention to the depicted action. While this scene could simply represent an artistic interpretation of familiar homosexual acts the presence of what appears to be a quiver slung over the eastern figure’s arm suggests a more military and combative setting. Therefore this image is not a depiction of Greek sexual preferences but rather an explicit and aggressive representation of military dominance.

What makes this vessel interesting is the rarity of such a depiction. According to Arafat (2002: 101) the nationality of this foreign figure is contentious as he can be regarded either as a Persian or a Scythian. Mitchell (2009: 84) argues however that Scythians may have been used in art to simply represent foreigners, and therefore Persians, which he claims is possibly the case here. The inscription on the vase also supports a Persian reading: *Eurumedon eim[i] kuba[de] esteka* (I am Eurymedon, I stand bent over), as Eurymedon was the scene of a battle against Persia (Mitchell 2009: 85). The importance of this victory to the Greeks is evident when considering that this vessel depicts the only explicit reference to an actual historic event (Arafat 2002: 101; Miller 1999: 13). It is rare to find such a direct reference to a political event in Greek art as this was generally avoided (Arafat 2002: 100). Not only does the scene depict a very violent act of sexual assault but the victim in this instance makes no attempt to flee or even defend himself. This leads McNiven (2000: 88) to suggest that this image would have brought to mind the Greek prostitutes and their submissive behaviour. He also argues that the Persian’s hand gestures allude to his lack of self-restraint and reiterate his effeminate position (McNiven 2000: 88 – 89). The explicit and violent nature of this image is a possible indication of the growing intensity of the Athenian self-image. Not only is the Greek seen dominating the Persian man but the latter is simply resigned to his fate. After their

successes in the Persian Wars and their rise to Greek dominance, this image seems to reinforce their supremacy.

Arafat (2002: 102) claims that this image would have been singular amongst contemporary vessels due to the position and gestures of the Persian and the unorthodox nature of the scene. Mitchell (2009: 85) agrees that this vase does not simply depict the Greek victory over the Persian but complete Persian humiliation. Through puns and submissive gestures this image becomes a joke ridiculing the defeated Persians (Mitchell 2009: 85 – 86). This image therefore becomes a commentary on the reputation of the Persians. The image suggests to its audience that the Persians were weak, submissive and easily overcome; a very different attitude to the original fear and respect observed before the Persian Wars (Billows 2010: 134 – 135). As this image reflects an attitude towards Persians so too does the depiction of the Greek reflect Athenian ideals.

Besides the clearly dominating behaviour of the Greek, his dress – or rather the lack thereof – sets him even further apart from the Persian. According to Bonfante (1989: 543) Greeks used male nudity in art as a distinguishing factor between themselves and non-Greeks. As previously discussed, Herodotus claims male nudity was highly frowned upon by foreigners and therefore would never have been venerated as it was in Greek art (1.10). Instead of simply seeing nudity as a lack of clothing, the naked male body was used as a “costume”. Value was therefore attached to the athletic male form and the beauty expressed by this (Bonfante 1989: 543 – 544). As a foreigner was identifiable by his clothing a Greek was distinguished by his lack of covering. However this nudity was not always used in a literal context. Osborne (1997: 506) explains that male nudity was not a common, public sight in Greek society but was limited rather to controlled environments and situations. Therefore it is unlikely that the Eurymedon nude was a representation of real life but lends itself rather to a metaphoric reading. Bonfante (1989: 556) claims that while the state of nudity suggests a degree of vulnerability, the classical use of the appearance was rather to emphasise strength and bravery. Images of male nudity therefore announced that although this man was unclothed and unarmed he was still strong enough to fight without protection. Bonfante links this nudity to that of the Greek gods. As these gods are able to rely on their own abilities for protection so too are Greek men; equating the mortal with the divine (Bonfante 1989: 556). This new image of Athenian dominance had gone beyond that of military prowess and now included cultural superiority as well. Although this image was probably one of a kind the sentiment behind it could not have strayed too far from the public opinion. As discussed in chapter, one it is unlikely that a potter or painter would express an adverse view in their art but rather would reflect what was already brewing or even well established in society (Boardman 2007: 172). While the image on the Eurymedon oinochoe was unique in its depiction of an actual event from history, the opinion

expressed was certainly not. Clearly the Athenian self-image of military dominance was so well established by the 460s that their victory was inevitable while the defeat of an enemy was now the subject of amusement.

3.2.2. Social reform and redefinition in Periclean Athens

The period immediately following the Persian Wars is marked by a notable decline in Amazon imagery. As can be seen in Stewart's table (fig.9) there is a significant drop in the production of scenes in the second quarter of the fifth century (from 292 to 53 in column *j*). Stewart (1995a: 582) suggests that this may be due to market saturation of the scene. However it could be an indication that, as the Athenians were now dominating the foreign forces, there was no longer a need for the mythical battle scenes to be so openly displayed. Amazonomachies evidently reflected the emphasis on a strong Athenian military identity during the Persian Wars. Now that the Persians had been defeated the self-image of military dominance no longer relied on mythical scenes of victory but rather actual battle scenes. According to Stewart murals such as those on the Stoa Poikile which included large battle scenes were becoming more popular. The Stoa, produced around 460 in the agora of Athens, depicted scenes from both Oinoe and Marathon (Stewart 1995a: 582). As the Persians were defeated there is a clear decline in the depiction of Amazons, not only in fighting scenes but also non-combat scenes (from 143 to 15 in column *g*). Athenians no longer needed to rely on their military superiority as the threat, the Persians, had been neutralised. However certain issues arose in Athenian society that replaced this previous focus.

Two contentious issues arise when analysing mid-fifth century Athens. Firstly the high influx of foreigners into the polis and secondly the tension developing between Greek and Athenian political policies. By the 450s Athens was establishing herself as a major power in the ancient world. But this was affecting the way in which Athenians now viewed themselves as this period is characterised by the discourse on the Athenian self-image (Stewart 1995a: 589). Once again Amazon imagery became very popular, as can be seen on Stewart's table, and significantly Greek/Persian battle scenes were no longer produced (Stewart 1995a: 586). According to Bryant (1996: 148) Athens viewed the Battle of Marathon on a similar scale to that of the Trojan War. As this ancient war had led to the 'heroification' of many of its participants, so too did the fighting at Marathon introduce the opportunity for heroic actions. The significance now lies in the change from mostly individual praise to a wider glorification suited to hoplite warfare; a more inclusive military practice. The *Marathonomachai*, the Athenians who had fought in the Battle of Marathon, were now afforded equal acclaim (Bryant: 1996: 148 – 149). While the praising of its soldiers is in accordance with the heroic age's desire for self-glorification, the emphasis is now placed on the city

as a whole. The lauding is now rarely directed at individuals but rather at the victorious whole which Bryant terms “collective canonization” (1996: 149). The Athenians saw their success over the Persians during the wars not only as a military triumph but also a victory for the Athenian culture. As they were opposed to much of the Persian behaviour, especially the servile treatment of many of the empire’s inhabitants, their victory seemed to validate the Athenian belief in their cultural superiority (Bryant 1996: 149). However the Athenians now appear to be less confident in their civic identity as social conditions and change culminated in insecurity which is visible in their art.

3.2.3. Images of social change

Examples of this new insecurity can be seen in the work of Polygnotos and the Kleophon Painter. The first vessel (fig.16), a neck amphora attributed to Polygnotos in London (1849.5-18.7), shows an Amazon being attacked by two Greeks. The Amazon is depicted in clearly foreign dress and appears to be at a disadvantage to the men. She wildly brandishes a weapon above her head in her right hand while the bow in her left is rendered useless at such close quarters. Her pose also suggests flight as she is moving in one direction but facing the other, which only serves to emphasise her desperation. According to Matheson (1995: 237; 239) there are two ways that a vase painter could reflect dominance or inferiority in an image; through movement and pose. The movement of a figure from left to right traditionally suggests that this figure will be the victor. Furthermore a figure whose body is facing one direction while their head is turned the other way is regarded as fleeing and therefore the inferior (Matheson 1995: 237; 239). A second vessel (fig.17), a stamnos also attributed to Polygnotos in Oxford (G290), depicts a fuller Amazonomachy. A youth named Roikos and a warrior, named as Theseus, fight an Amazon named Melosa and a second mounted Amazon. Although the pose of the central Greek figure is similar to that of Amazon on the London neck amphora he seems to have fatally speared the mounted Amazon so his dominance is not in doubt and therefore his movement does not suggest flight. However the second Amazon on the Oxford stamnos can be seen as fleeing as she is being dominated by Theseus.

While these vessels may depict the usual Amazon battle scene, the reverse images hold a greater significance. On the reverse of both vessels there appear three figures: the neck amphora shows two women flanking an older man with a staff, while the stamnos depicts a woman and a youth facing yet again an older man with a staff. In each case there appears to be some form of exchange or discourse taking place. The posture of the figures also suggests that the older, bearded man is in some position of authority indicated by his confident manner on the neck amphora and the way in which the figures on the left of the stamnos seem to appeal to him. A similar scene can be seen on a

pelike in Palermo (XXXX215179) attributed to the Kleophon Painter (fig.18). Although damage has obscured the central figure's face they have been identified as two women standing on either side of a man. Similar scenes depicting a man between two women are present on a number of other vessels also depicting Amazon scenes including: a bell krater in Naples (1768) attributed to the Guglielmi Painter; a pelike in Syracuse (9317) attributed to the Group of Polygnotos; a stamnos in London (98.7-15.1) attributed to the Christie Painter; a stamnos in the Louvre (G414) attributed to the Group of Polygnotos; and a pelike in Syracuse (23507) signed by Polygnotos, to name but a few.

According to Stewart (1995a: 589) this type of scene, usually showing women seeking solace with an older man, was an invention of the mid-fifth century. This scene is perhaps a reflection of the social concerns of many Athenians during this time. As Athens grew in power and influence many foreigners saw the city as a place of opportunity. This influx of non-Athenians contributed to the economic and intellectual growth of the polis (Kallet 2005: 44 – 45). However there was also a negative side to this immigration. During Athens' failed Egyptian campaign in the early 450s the death toll of Athenian citizens is estimated to have been between 15 and 20 per cent of the citizen body. Most of these deaths included young men of marriageable age. This drop in the Athenian male population coupled with an increase in foreign residents, particularly maidens, may have fuelled Pericles' citizenship law (Stewart 1995a: 589). According to Tyrrell (1989: 52) "[c]ontrol of marriage and reproductivity was a pillar of Athenian patriarchy", making the selection of marriage partners important. However the retention of 'Athenianess' was also very important. Coleman (1997: 191) argues that while Athens being a "melting pot" of diverse cultures could be viewed in modern times as beneficial, ancient Athenians would have been disturbed by this observation. Mixing with foreigners was not seen as advantageous as Athenians had a strong sense of cultural superiority (Coleman 1997: 189). Therefore the prospect of marriage between an Athenian and a non-Athenian became a highly contentious issue culminating in legislation. In 451/50 Pericles passed a citizenship law. This law stated that only males born to a citizen father and a mother also with a citizen father were eligible for Athenian citizenship. What this law achieved was to discourage intermarriage between Athenians and non-Athenians which maintained the exclusivity of the polis (Cohen 2001: 243; Davies 1977: 105). What this law also did was to place greater emphasis on the female line as their status as a daughter of a citizen was now essential (Harrison 1989: 51). This adds a new dimension to the social context in which this Amazon imagery was produced.

According to Stewart (1995a: 588) there may have been as many as 350 to 1000 metic *parthenoi* becoming eligible for marriage each year in Athens. These *parthenoi* were available to all men in

the city including the unmarried Athenian males. It is not an impossible leap therefore in reading these vase images above as Athenians rebuffing foreign influences and retaining cultural exclusivity. Stewart (1995a: 589) agrees that these images may have reflected the Athenian concern about the rise in foreign *parthenoi*. The similarities between Amazons and the foreign *parthenoi* in Athens can be seen on at least two levels. Firstly as Hardwick (1990: 19) notes Amazons were not simply regarded as a distant threat but also seen as an invasive force, much like the immigration of foreigners into Athens. While a metic presence was economically advantageous this would have put strain on the Athenian social composition. Secondly Amazons were traditionally at their most aggressive as unmarried *parthenoi*. Stewart (1995a: 579 – 580) illustrates this point by noting that Amazons before marriage were at their most unrestrained. It is only after they killed their first man in battle that they were allowed to marry. Once this had taken place they set aside their fighting activities and become more domesticated (Stewart 1995a: 579 – 580). In essence these vase images may depict Athenians countering the advances of foreign, unmarried young women which suitably reflect the contemporary social conditions and concerns.

According to Davies (1977: 106) Athenians were constantly seeking affirmation of their identity as a commonly recurring question. Due to a high level of foreign influence in many aspects of Athenian life such as discussed in chapter two, Athenians may have started doubting their own identity. These images start to show possible insecurities and uncertainties within Athenian society. These vessels are possibly a physical representation of the two sides to the Athenian social crisis. On the one side is the depiction of the problem; the actual fight with the Amazon. While on the reverse is the suggested correct behaviour; introverted reflection on the important characteristics of Athenian social norms. The threat was now coming from within the polis, from its own inhabitants which is possibly reflected in the imagery of the time. Athenians were now narrowing their civic and individual identity even further. This in turn was being redefined along the lines of the primordialist anthropological models and retains the fundamental Athenian characteristics (Bentley 1987: 26). These images reflect the Athenian desire to preserve their traditional identity as a closed society in which the patriarchy, as represented by the older man, is the central figure around which the community orientates itself (Tyrrell 1989: 52). However it is likely that elements of the Athenian society may have caused some concern as they drifted further from the traditional Athenian cultural identity.

An interesting question arises when considering a squat lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter in Basel (fig.4). Identified as the head of an Amazon, this image is quite striking. This vessel could be an example of a simple ethnographic depiction; a reflection of the greater degree to which Athens was coming into contact with eastern cultures and the interest this generated. Conversely the image

may not be as simple as that. With the lack of any elaborating catalyst, informant, or index, the identification of this figure as an Amazon relies on two signifying factors; that the figure is a female, and that she is wearing foreign dress. Both of these signifiers can actually be called into question. For instance the hat worn by the figure can be identified as clearly eastern, either as a Scythian or Persian cap (Sparkes 1997: 137; 143). However this does not automatically render the wearer foreign. As discussed in chapter two Athenians were partial to adopting foreign, particularly eastern, garments which they incorporated into their own Greek style. Veness (2002: 102) adds that Greek women were also in the habit of donning Persian dress. While this image may simply be an Amazon it could also refer to the possibility that Athens was becoming increasingly ‘orientalised’ and that this may in fact be an Athenian woman. Even the gender of this image can be questioned. The only distinctive feature visible in this image is the figure’s long hair. While at a glance this may appear to define the figure as female this once again can not be an automatic assumption. This can be illustrated by a skyphos in Cambridge’s Corpus Christi College (57) attributed to the Lewis Painter (fig.19). The male youth in this image, possibly identified as Tithonos being abducted by Eos, clearly has long, curling hair similar to the figure on the squat lekythos in Basel. This is not the only ambiguous figure that has been identified with difficulty, as von Bothmer concedes that he is only able to identify a certain figure as an Amazon “thanks to her ear-ring” (1957: 154 – 155). Sometimes the only way to notice the gender of Amazons is through their finery including ear-rings, necklaces, and embroidery (Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981a: 637). This is not to say that the abovementioned head is that of a male youth, it does however raise the point of the ambiguity of this image; an ambiguity which may have permeated the self-image of Athenian society.

A further vessel may also shed light on the Athenian preoccupation with identity. Already referred to in chapter two, a Naples cup (fig.10) highlights the lack of restrictions placed on Amazon clothing. This vessel appears to depict five Amazons in traditionally Persian, Greek, Scythian, Greek, and Persian dress respectively. As previously discussed these ambiguous images may have equated Amazons with the Greekness of Athenians, but more interestingly equated Athenians with the ‘otherness’ of Amazons. These images could therefore reflect the self-questioning that may have occurred in Athens. According to Henderson (1994: 134) this scene could in fact be seen as a mirror in which an Athenian viewer is asked to see himself as no different from the Amazons. According to Veness (2002: 104 – 105) this likening of Amazons to Greeks through dress is not only an indication of the women’s military prowess but also their ability to remain undetected. The combination of Greek and Persian dress suggests they are both domestic and foreign at the same time suggesting the threat of “the alien within”. This reflects the domestic risk that now threatened

Athens as the problem of identifying those who are true Athenians from those who are not (Veness 2002: 105). It could also be reflecting the possible realisation that Athens had now become the enemy to her own noble ambitions of freedom and democracy. Athenians were not only becoming visibly indistinguishable from the enemy they fought but morally as well. As Athenian politics moved further from League duties and more into the expansion of their empire the city seemed to acquire characteristics they had previously opposed. The fight between Greeks and Persians was seen as a victory of freedom over autocracy; free will over oppressive duress (Gruen 2011: 22). However the more Athens gained through the League the more the polis started to take on these previously despised tendencies.

This can be seen in Thucydides' account of Athenian actions towards other Greek communities. He accuses Athens of enslaving many Greeks in the city's quest for an empire. The historian records how Athens took the Persian occupied town of Eion as well as the Dolopian island of Scyros. In both cases the inhabitants were “ἡνδραπόδισαν” (enslaved) (1.98). The use of this word instead of δουλόω distinguishes the action as that of selling freemen into slavery, intensifying the action (Liddell and Scott 1889: 57). After this came the rebellion of Naxos. Here Thucydides notes that the forcing of Naxos to rejoin the league made it the first allied state to be “παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη” (enslaved contrary to the accord) (1.98). The historian clearly sees this Athenian action as a transgression against the conditions of the league agreement. But more than a breach of contract, Athens here over-stepped a moral boundary. As discussed in chapter two, slavery was seen as a terrible fate for any Greek. While slavery was an accepted part of Athenian society with an estimated total of 50 000 slaves in Periclean Athens, this was reserved for non-Greeks (Patterson 2007: 156). For an Athenian to become a slave was an atrocity as this was contrary to the idea that being an Athenian and being a slave were mutually exclusive conditions (Patterson 2007: 155). It is this very situation that Athens saw herself fighting to avoid by engaging in the Persian Wars. These wars started when ‘enslaved’ Ionians threw off the shackles of Persian occupation; an action Athens was very much in favour of (Bryant 1996: 148). Only a few decades later Athens seemed to be perpetuating the dominating behaviour they fought against. As previously stated these vessels depicting the ambiguity of Amazons therefore are perhaps a reflection of the uncertainty of Athenian inhabitants of their own social self-image and they sought comfort in their more traditional and city-orientated identity.

3.2.4. Images of Athenocentrism

Once peace was declared between Athens and her enemies there was time to reflect on what it meant to be Athenian in comparison to their opponents (Bryant 1996: 149), and it is likely that this

questioning may have revealed unsavoury truths. Athenian citizens came to view themselves no longer as individuals but as belonging to a whole. Devotion to one's city and patron deity became very important and became the motivation behind many social activities. Belonging to a polis was now the priority and Athenocentrism was present in a variety of spheres (Bryant 1996: 153 – 154). Participation in a civic capacity was expected from all citizens who were now responsible for the army, religion, land ownership, the assembly and judicial duties (Bryan 1996: 159). If this citizen body was not completely and exclusively dedicated to the Athenians' cause it would undermine the democratic system now in place. Therefore delineation and definition of citizens and their responsibilities to the polis would have been vital for the success of the city.

A further example of this greater sense of Athenocentrism can be seen in a change that took place in the depiction of Amazonomachies in reference to Stewart's table (fig.9). Column *c* at the time of the Persian Wars shows a rise in popularity for Heracles/Amazon battle scenes. As Persia was defeated and the eastern empire's attention started to turn away from Greece there is a drop in the number of such depictions. An interesting change occurs during the period 450 – 425 BCE. Column *c* now shows a complete lack of interest in Heracles scenes while column *d* suggests this interest was now turned to Theseus/Amazon battle scenes. As a very popular figure in Greek mythology, Heracles may have been regarded as being too panhellenic and not fitting as a more Athenian hero who would suit the shifting focus of the polis (Stewart 1995a: 577). Boardman (1989: 227) notes that this shift in focus from Heracles, who fought Amazons overseas, to Theseus, who is involved in the fight for Athens, is probably in response to Persia's focus and attack on Attica and not on Greece as a whole. These Theseus vessels all followed a similar style with the hero often as the central figure, nude, and with his helmet pushed up on his head revealing his calm face. A dinos in London (99.7.21.5) attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (fig.20) depicts Theseus fighting Amazons along with other Greeks in this manner. His nudity emphasises his heroic status as he dominates his Amazon opponent and indicates his superiority (Bonfante 1989: 556). This suggests that the images change from representing a foreign threat to a domestic threat, indicating that Theseus was considered a more Athenian hero and therefore represented the polis. However this domestic threat could also include the threat not only posed by the Persians during the wars but also the social threat Athens felt from the loss of Athenian males and the immigration of foreigners (Stewart 1995a: 589). Much like the images of women running towards men discussed before, these Theseus battle images reflect not an actual military battle but rather the domestic battle of blood and citizenship. The images analysed in this section reflect the increase in attention given to the Athenian identity. Once again following the primordialist models the Athenians turned to traditional civic values in order to define themselves. Challenged by the perceived threat of foreigners on their citizen body

the Athenians chose a more exclusive and primordialist identity narrowing their focus from Greece as a whole to Athenian citizens only.

Military ability would not help them in this civic struggle against foreigners therefore their previous militarily orientated identity became less important than one focussed on traditions and cultural exclusivity. By the mid-fifth century emphasis had shifted from military stability to social and cultural stability in Athens which in turn influenced the identity of Athenians. The citizens of this polis seemed to be questioning just what that identity was in the wake of a new found dominance in Greece and increased foreign influence. This imagery suggests that Athens sought solidarity and clarification of their identity by turning their attention inwards to their core beliefs as the perceived true citizen body. This identity would now come to face the challenges at the end of the fifth century, namely the Peloponnesian War.

3.3. The Peloponnesian War and Athenian identity: 425 – 400 BCE

The ‘other’ images of the early fifth century reflect a society full of military and cultural superiority and confidence. The mid-fifth century images reflect the narrowing of this identity limiting it to Athenians only and showing a growing sense of insecurity. By the late fifth century these images seem to emphasise this insecurity making it the focal point of the ‘other’ imagery. It is likely that in the first few years of the Peloponnesian War Athens saw herself in with a fighting chance. They needed only to look at their previous performance record to believe that they could defeat Sparta and her allies with moderate effort. It is therefore likely that this attitude of military superiority would come to the fore in Athenian vase painting which does seem to be the case. Referring to Stewart’s table (fig.9) the total number of Amazon images remains relatively high for the first years of the war which was fought from 432 to 404 BCE (Powell 1996: 136). However after the commencing years this total takes a steep dive and levels out at around only 10 images for the years 425 to 400 BCE (column *j*) along with an overall drop in vase painting (column *b*). It is also interesting to note that these scenes are limited to generic battles and no longer feature figures such as Heracles or even the Athenian hero Theseus (columns *c* and *d*). This is significant in that these heroes were used to reflect the united Greek or Athenian sense of superiority over the enemy. The fact that these images are no longer popular suggests a change in the civic confidence of late fifth century Athenian identity. To understand whether a change occurred with regards to the Athenian self-image it is important to analyse the images that did occur in this period with regard to depictions of ‘others’.

3.3.1. Images of insecurity

Compared to the preceding years the Amazon imagery of the last quarter of the fifth century takes a subtle but discernible turn. While former depictions of Amazons show these warrior women in a comparable light to Athenians, as evident from their hoplite clothing, these later representations focus mostly on the foreign aspect of the women. Interestingly the majority of these images, granting that very few have survived, depict Amazons in distinctly and almost exclusively eastern dress. These images can be divided into two groups; Amazonomachies and Amazons on their own.

3.3.1.1. Amazonomachies

Two pelikes attributed to the Painter of Louvre G 433 in Athens (2396; fig.21) and Berlin (F2625; fig.22) depict Amazonomachies in a similar way. In both examples an Amazon is shown riding a rearing horse towards the right while being attacked by multiple Greeks with a second Amazon depicted coming from above. At a glance it is not obvious which party is at a disadvantage in the fight. However the mounted Amazons, while on seemingly wild horses, do appear to be in control of the animals suggesting a degree of supremacy. The fight appears to be more balanced than previous examples of Amazons placed at a greater disadvantage such as those produced directly after the Persian Wars (for example in figs.11 and 12a). The orientalising of the Amazons' clothing is also noteworthy. As can be seen on vessels from the preceding decades, Amazons are depicted wearing Greek clothing as well.

A further Amazonomachy on a neck amphora in New York (44.11.12) attributed to the Suessula Painter (fig.23) in fact shows the Amazons, also in oriental dress, at a clear advantage. The two Amazons are both taking aim for a fatal blow armed with a sabre and an axe while the Greek between them shows signs of hesitation. Although his body is turned towards the Amazon on the left his head is facing the Amazon on the right which suggests he does not know which attack to fend off first. A greater sense of urgency is added by the tree which the Greek is literally backed up against. The body language of these three figures supports this reading of Amazon superiority as the two women have leapt up in their attacks causing them to tower over the flat-footed Greek. This Greek appears to be appealing to his companion behind the second Amazon but he too seems hesitant and even appears unarmed apart from his shield and helmet.

It seems every attempt has been made to contrast the two sides. The dress of both Amazons is overtly eastern. Their clothing is covered with all types of patterns and not a single item can be labelled as having a Greek influence. While the two women are heavily clothed the two Greeks on the other hand are almost completely nude. This nudity however, which before may have conveyed a sense of power and strength (Bonfante 1989: 556), now only seems to emphasize their

vulnerability. Instead of a metaphor for bravery and dominance this instance of nudity could simply be used as a distinguishing factor between the Amazons and the Greeks (Bonfante 1989: 543). This vessel and those like it suggest a change has now come over Amazon imagery. Instead of depicting the warrior women at a clear disadvantage the Greeks themselves appear to be on the losing side. They have been caught off guard and seem to be struggling against their opponents. The central Greek has nowhere to turn. He finds Amazons on both sides of him and a tree against his back. The only way out would be towards the audience. This in itself draws the viewer in as they start to realise they are possibly the only form of assistance to the trapped Greek. However this scene is also the last moment for the Greek. As the scene has captured the moment when the two Amazons have leapt up it brings a sense of futility to the actions of the Greek. The inevitable ensuing action would be for the Amazons to land which would also result in the probably fatal wounding of the Greek. The look of hesitation from both Greeks is now understandable as they realise, like the audience, the gravity of the situation.

Referring once more to Matheson's explanations on movement and pose (1995: 237; 239), on both the Athens and Berlin pelikes the mounted Amazons are moving towards the right which suggests their ultimate victory. While the movement on the New York neck amphora is in both directions the pose of the central Greek is a prime example of the fleeing pose (Matheson 1995: 237). His path of escape though is blocked by an Amazon moving, again, towards the right. This posture of flight is also depicted by both full-bodied Greeks on the Berlin pelike. The inclusion of these details emphasises the dominance of the Amazons and the weaker position of the Greeks. As the handles of a vessel dictate the way in which it is held and therefore the focal point of a vase it is easy to discern the central image or nucleus on such a vessel. Both the Athens and Berlin pelikes force the viewer to focus their attention on the central figures of these vessels and these figures are the mounted Amazons. Emphasis on the central figure of the Berlin pelike is further enhanced by the added-white technique drawing attention to the steed and its rider. The movements of the Greeks away from the horse give the impression that the mounted Amazon is in full control. Her gestures impress upon the viewer her commanding presence and it is not the Greeks but rather the Amazons who appear superior on these vessels.

3.3.1.2. Amazons on their own

The second group of Amazons are those depicted either on their own or with a second Amazon but with no Greek presence. These vessels include an oinochoe in Ferrara (T412A; fig.24), an unattributed oinochoe in Munich (2472; fig.25), and a lekythos in Chania (6) attributed to the Chania Painter (fig.26). On all these vessels the Amazons are dressed from head to toe in eastern

attire. These scenes do not depict any Greeks or other opponents and they focus solely on the activities of the Amazons. The Ferrara oinochoe depicts two Amazons in combat apparel seemingly running into battle. They are armed with a spear and an axe respectively. The Munich oinochoe depicts a single Amazon also preparing for battle armed with a pelta and an axe. There is barely any movement in this image which contrasts it with the action on the Ferrara oinochoe. The final image on the Chania lekythos shows a second lone Amazon engaged in shooting an arrow. All these Amazons are clearly readying themselves or actively engaged in battle.

Who their intended opponents are is difficult to tell but judging from the other Amazon scenes of this period they are likely fighting the Greeks. However the identity of the opponent is irrelevant as the nature and message of these vessels is quite clear. The Amazons are not pictured in a benign setting but rather a strong militaristic situation. These Amazons are ready for battle. These vessels enhance the Amazon reputation for menace and war. In these scenes Greeks are not the ones being identified as militaristic, but rather the Amazons; the enemy. Even in scenes in which they are depicted fighting, the Greeks do not appear to hold complete dominance or superiority. What had always been considered inevitable, Athenian victory, was now becoming unpredictable.

Interestingly the cap worn by the second Amazon on the Athens pelike (see detail in fig.27) is very similar to that worn by the individual on the Basel squat lekythos (fig.4). This image of a figure's head wearing an eastern cap is repeated on two squat lekythoi in Turin (4628; fig.28) and Berlin (F4067; fig.29) respectively. Much like the Basel vessel it is difficult to tell whether the heads on the Turin and Berlin vessels are Amazons and the same analysis can be made as for the Basel squat lekythos. This possibly indicates that Athenians were feeling the same fears as before. Previously this cap on the head of an unidentifiable figure was possibly a reflection of the ambiguity of the Amazon or foreign figure. During the mid-fifth century the increased presence of metic *parthenoi* in Athens threatened the polis' social order (see the previous section). As this image of an ambiguous figure was possibly a reflection of a form of social warning so too could these repeated caps be a representation of a civic threat. The detail on the Athens pelike possibly serves to emphasise the threatening nature of this comparison.

The change in the depiction of Amazon clothing from including Greek attire to almost exclusively eastern garb may suggest a deeper sense of hopelessness in Athenian society. According to Henderson (1994: 85) "Amazons speak of 'us' and they speak *for* 'us'". This quote reiterates Hardwick's (1990: 15) argument that Amazon imagery should be seen as commentary on the contemporary Greek culture that created it. It is this society, not the Amazons, that is being debated and discussed through this imagery. Therefore what can be read or interpreted from Amazon

imagery should be regarded as a reflection on Athenian society. The abovementioned Amazonomachy images show clear Amazon domination and suggest Greek weakness. As discussed in chapter two, from the earliest images Amazons were considered great warriors and were defeated in order to emphasise Greek superiority (Hardwick 1990: 16). Now however the Greeks appear to be the ones about to be defeated. The Amazon imagery of the first three-quarters of the fifth century already discussed repeatedly shows Greeks defeating Amazons. At the same time the contemporary social context of those images suggest they reflect the confidence and superiority felt by the Athenians. Therefore for Amazon imagery to take a negative turn in that Greeks appear to be at a disadvantage suggests there was a change in the social context. Previous discussions of Amazon imagery reveal that these warrior women were important to the Athenian discourse on their identity (Hardwick 1990: 15). These late fifth century images therefore also suggest a change in the self-image of Athenians.

An interesting image on the tondo of a cup in Ferrara attributed to the Eretria Painter (fig.3) is possibly a reflection of this internal struggle. This image depicts two figures fighting where one seems to have suffered a fatal wound. Although it may be that this depicts a male Greek warrior stabbing an Amazon, the bodies of the two figures are so similar that it appears to be two Amazons fighting each other. Although the wounded figure is dressed in more eastern attire the two figures are similar in many other respects including their *chitons*, their hair, and their bodies. As discussed in chapter one, the overlapping of the left figure's foot over the image's frame forces the action upon the audience, heightening the sense of urgency and proximity (Hurwit 1977: 9 – 10). Much like the cap discussed above, the ambiguity of this image only serves to emphasise the possibility that, for the Athenian, the enemy was now becoming indistinguishable from himself. In this light the Ferrara tondo becomes an image of infighting.

A further two vessels may also suggest the same interpretation. An oinochoe in Ferrara (T652, 2498; fig.30) and a kantharos in Bologna (467; fig.31) both depict Greek warrior departure scenes but include the figures of Amazons. On the Ferrara oinochoe a warrior departs while a woman offers out a phiale. An oriental Amazon can be seen in this image standing passively with her hand on her hip and holding two spears. The Bologna kantharos also depicts a departing warrior but this time a phiale is held out by what appears to be Nike. On the reverse of this vessel two Amazons are depicted also fully armed. These Amazons however appear to be dressed in predominantly Greek attire. Both these vessels may pose the same question; who exactly are these youths about to fight? The obvious reading would be the Peloponnesian forces, with the Amazons simply emphasising the challenge they are to face much like during the Persian Wars in the first section of this chapter. However as these female figures may have come to represent the 'other', anti-social side of the

Athenians, they may reflect not a physical battle but rather the internal struggle with the blurring of enemy-ally lines.

If these images are regarded as the reflection of Athenian identity it is impossible to ignore the vulnerability that appears in these vase paintings. Where they had before shown belief of their invincibility and inevitable victory they now show uncertainty in the outcome. This was most likely an unexpected and unfamiliar feeling. Athenians had shown themselves to be vital and powerful during the Persian Wars and had succeeded on numerous occasions and even against the odds. According to Boardman (1989: 144) the Peloponnesian War left the Athenians no longer able to rely on their previous military abilities for any form of confidence boost. Rather they were forced to revisit past glories in reminiscing scenes of heroic battles and much older, even mythical victories (Boardman 1989: 144). For this to have been the case means they were no longer as confident in their ability which is evident in the Amazon imagery of the time.

3.3.2. Stasis and the Athenian identity

Athenian identity in the mid-fifth century was based on civic pride. Pericles' Funeral Oration, although perhaps not a verbatim account, is useful for an indication of what that pride depended on and what Athenians thought set them apart from other poleis. There are a number of key characteristics that come to the fore in this speech. These can be summarised as pride for the past; loyalty to their leaders and the law; and cultural and military superiority (II.36 – 43). It is with this unifying identity that Athenians went into the Peloponnesian War but it is this identity that was challenged and redefined during the war.

According to Powell (1996: 142) two notable factors come to the fore during the Peloponnesian War; the exploitation of the enemy's weaknesses and the occurrence of stasis (internal disunity and treachery) in the fighting states. It is this last factor that may have influenced the Athenian self-image to such an extent as to become reflected in their vase painting. Manicas (1982: 680) claims that stasis was a chronic and serious reality for the city-states which varied between subversion to civil war. He adds that it was the specific structure of the Greek poleis that allowed stasis to become such a rooted and growing problem. The Greek polis was built on the fight for independence, self-rule, and the desire to be the best. This fostered an intra-city competition and struggle between the classes for power, wealth, and even citizenship. This condition would only worsen during times of war where "class loyalties could supersede polis loyalties" (Manicas 1982: 680 – 681). This could even go as far as collaboration with the enemy. Thucydides records how during the later years of the Peloponnesian War new and contentious Athenian fortifications were built. These walls, and the

men who paid for their construction, reveal internal, social decay as they were built with gates specifically designed to allow access to the enemy (Thuc. VIII.92; Powell 1996: 144 – 145). Writing about the civil war in Corcyra in 427 Thucydides states how the trouble was all caused by self-serving individuals. He shows contempt for those men who, while appearing to serve the people, were motivated by personal greed and benefit (III.82). Thucydides makes a claim that possibly sheds light on the change evident in Athenian vase painting of these later years. According to the historian this social corrosion was present throughout Greece. Civic duty had now given way to individual self-preservation. No longer were the needs of the polis placed before personal gain and ambition and the laws in place to prevent this were disregarded and ineffective (III.83). Kallet (2009: 112) claims that the Athenian social focus had changed from one of civic pride to one of placing family interests before the polis. This indicates a definite narrowing of Athenian identity along primordialist lines. Once again Athenians were turning to traditional mores and values to define themselves. From this account it is clear that a change had come over the Greek poleis. Citizens were no longer ready to unite in defence of their cities but were motivated rather by personal desires. Athens was probably full of people who were ready to go it alone in order to benefit themselves. Amazon imagery here may offer an interesting parallel.

As pointed out in chapter two the figure of the Amazon was often used as a caution to all those who went against or rejected the traditional social norms; “a warning to the loners” (Stewart 1995a: 574). As these warrior women are individuals who reject the ordinary patriarchal society and represent all things non-Athenian (Stewart 1995a: 574), their defeat in so many vase images reflects the victory of Athenian society over those who oppose it. Therefore images of Amazon defeat can be interpreted as the maintenance of the Athenian status quo. However many of the images of battles between Amazons and Greeks in the late fifth century *do not* depict Amazon defeat. These images are an inverse of the more traditional Amazonomachy which reflected Athenian civic victory. Therefore they possibly reflect the concern that individualism was defeating the traditional Athenian social identity: the increased presence of stasis in their once unified society. This deconstruction of an ethnic identity is supported by Hall (2000: 18) who states that unity is sacrificed once a group no longer regards their ethnic identity as crucial. However it could also be said that although the Athenians were no longer considering their polis as a defining factor they still turned to the family unit for their self-image.

The Amazon images discussed above are indicative of this deconstruction. As the Athenians moved away from their mid-fifth century civic identity and into a new, narrower self-definition, the identity discourse present in Amazon images changes. These images no longer emphasise the Athenian military prowess that they previously did. Instead the images show a cultural identity under attack.

While Athenians once perceived themselves as the victors, they now depict themselves losing or at least struggling. The loner Amazon image as noted by Stewart (1995a: 574) trumps the once unified Athenian identity. While these images reveal more about the deconstruction of the previous Athenian identity they also suggest the possible route in which the Athenian self-image was now heading; narrower and less civic-orientated.

3.3.3. Other images containing the ‘other’

Amazon imagery enjoyed relative popularity for the first three-quarters of the fifth century (see Stewart’s table, fig.9). As the presence of Amazon images in the last quarter of the fifth century is limited to only a handful of depictions, their absence becomes quite significant. It also begs the question what replaced such imagery? What other images were considered important or popular by Athenians during this period? As the Amazon images of this period offer an insight into the social attitude of the time so too could the ‘other’ images also being produced during the Peloponnesian War.

One of the most prominent Attic red-figure vase painters during this period is the Meidias Painter. According to Burn (1987: 11) the traditional date for the production of his works is between 420 and 400 BCE; the height of the Peloponnesian War. There are a number of key characteristics that come to the fore in this particular painter’s work. The following are the most pertinent to this study in Athenian identity and self-image. A notable characteristic of this imagery is the sense of escapism including the depiction of a great number of garden scenes. Burn (1987: 95) refers to these as a “paradoxical enthusiasm for nature shown by artists of one of the most city-orientated societies of all time”. This suggests that these images were not representations of real life. Therefore their significance lies in a metaphoric reading. Burn (1987: 84) argues that these images, many of which depict women in gardens, could be a representation of the plight of women. She adds that as these vessels were produced and probably bought by men for women they would have appealed to both sexes. It is also significant that these vessels were often part of grave goods (Burn 1987: 84). It seems that as these scenes were of some form of escape they could represent the ultimate escape from a hard life; death.

It seems the Meidias Painter was not immune to the social attitudes of the day and felt the need to depict this tension. There are two significant lekanis lids in the works attributed to the Meidias Painter. These depict Persians chasing Greek women on a lid in Paris (CA 3668; fig.32) and Germany (fig.33). The scenes show similarities as they both depict the women seeking refuge in sanctuaries, as represented by the altars, where the Persian men have found them. According to

Burn (1987: 49) the interpretation of these images depends on their context; historical or mythical. While the depiction of historical events in Attic vase painting was very rare such imagery did exist (see the oinochoe in fig.15) which could explain these two vessels. From an historical perspective these could be interpreted as depictions of the Persian Wars while there are a number of similar scenes from mythology (Burn 1987: 49 – 50). What is significant is the clear Persian domination in these images rather than the more usual Greek superiority (Burn 1987: 49). Burn adds that around this time images of Persians had the figures engaged in more benign activities such as hunting, symposia and sleeping (1987: 49). This only heightens the significance of these images as the painter felt the need to depict such an unorthodox scene. This also seems to reflect the Greek defeat by Amazons in the aforementioned Amazonomachies.

The best interpretation probably lies in the most literal reading of the actions depicted in these images. In both cases Greek, probably Athenian, women are seeking refuge in sanctuaries where they have been chased by Persian or simply foreign men. The historical context suggested by Persian figures, the Persian Wars, introduces a sense of hostility and urgency. From this it is most likely that these scenes hint at a sinister outcome. These women are seeking refuge in the one place imagined to be safe, a sacred place, to only find that their assailants are undeterred by this setting and will attack them any way. Fitting this into the context of Athens during the Peloponnesian War requires no great stretch of the imagination. From the very first years of the war with Sparta the Athenians were forced to seek refuge in their city (Thuc. II.14 – 16); a place where they thought they would be safe from attack, their sanctuary. However due to the chronic presence of stasis in the city and the plague that was sweeping through their society (Thuc. II.47 – 55), the Athenians now no longer felt safe in their home. According to Kallet (2009: 97) any Greek would have found abandoning their home and not being able to defend it an unacceptable situation. However this is what happened when all those outside Athens' walls were forced into the city. When considering this Athens and her surrounds become the compromised shrines, the Athenians can be seen as the defenceless Greek women, while the Persians represent the enemies of Athens, both foreign and Greek. These images therefore depict the intense degree of insecurity and uncertainty sweeping through the city. The previous Athenian identity of dominance and confidence in their military, culture and community was being undermined from the inside which resulted in an even narrower self-image in that the wider community played little part in the individuals sense of self.

One of the most important differences between these two images and the previously discussed Amazonomachies is the complete inversion of their content. The Amazonomachies depict foreign, eastern women dominating local, Athenian men, in a battlefield setting. This is now reversed to depict foreign, eastern *men* dominating local, Athenian *women*, in a *sanctuary* setting. These could

indicate that the reflection and reinterpretation of the Athenian self-image was taking place on a more domestic level. Traditionally Athenian women were valued for their domesticity as well as their important roles in religious activities (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 112). These images now depict a threat to the domestic, intimate and familial realm. While the Amazonomachies were distanced by their outdoor setting, these Persian images literally bring the threat home. There is clear desperation in the movements of the women on the lekanis lids. One in particular on the Paris lid can be seen running and stretching her arms out towards the shrine before her. She clearly sees this statue as her salvation but it is unlikely that she will be saved. It is possible that the setting and the female figures of these vessels is meant to represent the domestic sphere of Athenian life. The sacred setting therefore emphasises the sacrilege of the effects of war on the family. According to Strauss (1993: 11) the *oikos* was considered a central and integral part of the polis with a co-dependent relationship. Therefore the stability of the household reflected the stability of the state and these images could represent the effect of a struggling polis on the *oikos* during the Peloponnesian War.

3.3.4. Reflection of domestic strife

Other than the presence of stasis, plague was a further destructive influence on Athenian society during the war. This disease would be a crushing blow to Athenians' morale and their military identity. After the second outbreak in 427/6 Thucydides places the death toll of the plague at 4 700 hoplites and cavalry (III.87). Kallet (2009: 99) claims that across the Athenian citizenry this could have been as high as 15 000 while a guess would have to be made as to the number of women, children and slaves who succumbed. Thucydides gives a detailed account of the symptoms brought on by the plague, from which he himself recovered. Severe fever, haemorrhaging, respiratory and skin infections, and gastric ailments often resulted in the loss of use of the extremities and even blindness (Thuc. II.49). The historian describes the complete hopelessness many felt when they had contracted the disease while the feeling of euphoria that accompanied a rare recovery attested to the harshness of the illness (II.51). The city was littered with the dead and dying and those who had not found homes when they moved into Athens from the country were forced to live among them. Thucydides describes how this period was marked by a drastic change in Athenian society. As their plight became more urgent the Athenians turned to lawlessness and ignored religious practices. Athenian society started to take a definite turn for the worse. Appeasement of the gods seemed to get them nowhere and death was too imminent for legal punishment to be an effective threat (II.52 – 53). This sense of hopelessness and nihilistic attitude undermined the Athenian sense of community. A society that had once identified itself as one that showed loyalty and duty to the state

was now plagued by self-interest. Athens was in the process of losing her sense of unity and community (Kallet 2009: 99). This in turn would have had an effect on the way the Athenians viewed themselves as a city and as individuals. In 430 Pericles attempted a military campaign against Epidaurus. While the Athenian force made headway in the Peloponnese they were ultimately unsuccessful in capturing the city (Thuc. II.56). Kallet (2009: 99) suggests that as Epidaurus was the traditional sanctuary of Asclepius, the god of healing, this may have been a motivation for the campaign which reveals the degree of Athenian desperation in the face of the plague.

As the polis suffered a plague the *oikos* would obviously suffer. The high mortality rate and the sense of hopelessness would have led to images of a desperate domestic situation such as those of the Paris and Germany lekanis lids. According to Pasztory (1989: 36) “ethnic styles . . . emerge only when external articulation of ethnic identity is necessary for a variety of political and economic reasons”. Therefore this artistic expression of the domestic Athenian condition would have to have arisen from a change in the focus of identity. As previously stated, the Athenian social focus during the Peloponnesian War changed from the usual civic pride to one of placing family interests before the polis (Kallet 2009: 112). A city that had once been a source of pride for Athenians now became a dangerous and deadly place that required people to defend themselves rather than their city. The structure of the *oikos* could be said to mirror the structure of the polis (Strauss 1993: 11). Therefore once the polis started to destabilise as a unified community Athenians could focus their attention on the maintenance of their household and from there redefine themselves. This would have resulted in citizens being less concerned about their Athenian self-image and more about their familial identity.

3.3.5. Escapist nature scenes

This turning away from the city in search of another source of identity could explain the seemingly contradictory presence of the many nature scenes depicted in vase painting during the Peloponnesian War. As previously stated, the Meidias Painter is mostly known for his escapist garden scenes. These scenes seem unexpected when considering the social context within which they were produced. However this need not be the case. As focus for self-identity was being drawn away from the polis so too do these natural scenes draw attention away from the city. However on closer inspection these images are not as distracting as they seem but rather consistent with the prevailing social conditions. As the city was becoming plagued by disunity and disease the inhabitants of Athens were clearly trying to escape their reality through these images. Two such Meidian garden scenes were produced: the gardens of the Attic tribal heroes and those for women

(Burn 1987: 84). Burn suggests that these images could reflect the desire of Athenian women to escape their restricted and now uncomfortable lives as they are almost trapped within the city (1987: 84). These gardens offered fictional relief, doing away with the walls that now enclosed these women. However these images could signify something deeper. For one these vessels depict numerous figures grouped in a single location all apparently at leisure. As stasis and disunity pulled the traditional Athenian society apart such images as depicted on these vessels may have become very rare. While they could simply represent the desired alternative for trapped individuals they could also reflect the possible knowledge that unity on this level and in this setting will now only be possible in a divine paradise. In this light these images become a bitter-sweet reminder of the relaxed unity that once prevailed and now only seems likely in somewhat dreamlike gardens.

3.3.6. The Judgement of Paris and the problem of individualism

The traditional sense of the polis was now being deconstructed and the previous emphasis on unity and community was being undermined by an increased presence of individualism. It is possible that this discourse on the perils of self-interest found expression in the Meidian Judgment of Paris. This myth was a very popular source of inspiration for vase painters of the last quarter of the fifth century (Burn 1987: 65). Two such vessels are a hydria in Karlsruhe (259 (B 36)) attributed to the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris (fig.34) and a bell krater in Vienna (1771) attributed to the Painter of the Athens Wedding (fig.35). On both of these vessels Paris can be seen in distinctly foreign dress which Burn identifies as Phrygian (1987: 65). On the Karlsruhe hydria Paris, seated in the centre, is surrounded by a number of figures including, from left to right, Hera, Athena, Hermes, and Aphrodite. Eris (Strife) can also be seen directly above the Trojan prince, half concealed, which Burn (1987: 66) claims adds a sinister atmosphere to the proceedings. Burn (1987: 65) also notes that although the Judgement of Paris was a popular theme throughout the fifth century, scenes depicting Paris making his final decision, as seen on the two vessels above, were the most preferred late in the century. The expectancy is quite clear in these scenes as the goddesses wait for Paris' reply.

Interestingly Burn argues that the outcome of the scenes on these two vessels, while known from myth, was never as obvious as in the Meidian interpretation of the scene. She claims that the presence of Eros at Paris' side on both the hydria and the bell krater removes any doubt that Aphrodite would be victorious. She adds that as this scene would lead to the abduction of Helen and the start of the Trojan War it would be a reminder to Athenians of the hardships they would face in their own Peloponnesian War (Burn 1987: 66 – 67). The analogy however could go even deeper than simply a reminder of a past mythological war.

During Athens' struggles in the Peloponnesian War a variety of figures arose who undermined the unity of Athens through selfish acts. Alcibiades was one such individual whose most notorious feat came in 415 when he deserted his home city of Athens in order to assist Sparta (Pomeroy, et al. 2004: 215). Shapiro (2009: 238) argues that on many levels the figure of Paris can be paralleled with that of Alcibiades which cannot be ignored. Other than their good looks and desirability both young men, after being shown hospitality by the Spartan king, proceeded to seduce the Spartan queen with serious political consequences. In each case the motivation was self-interest and resulted in the betrayal of their home cities. Alcibiades' actions during his life also undermined the Athenian family values with both husbands and wives falling for his charm (Shapiro 2009: 237 – 238). Alcibiades, much like Paris, comes across as a rather self-important figure. Shapiro (2009: 237) argues that Alcibiades' looks including his long hair would have been viewed by Athenians as impractical for athletics and war as well as bearing a resemblance to the tastes of Spartan men. This in itself would set him apart from the traditional Athenian values.

While these scenes of the Judgement of Paris may not be direct references to Alcibiades' actions, the coincidence of the rise in popularity of this scene and the similarities between Paris' and Alcibiades' character and actions is too unlikely. This foreign, Trojan prince becomes the embodiment of self-interest and the strife caused when one puts one's own benefit ahead of one's city. This self-serving tendency most likely fuelled by the previously discussed stasis, was perpetrated by various individuals. This included the Athenians wealthy and well-connected enough to pay for the building of Athens' defensive walls but treacherous enough to include gates designed to allow the enemy in (Thuc. VIII.92; Powell 1996: 144 – 145). Burn (1987: 65) notes that on the hydria the club which Paris holds and the dog at his feet remind the audience that he is a shepherd. Just as Paris was assigned the guard duties of a herdsman so too was Alcibiades, along with other influential individuals, offered the chance to defend his city. However both these young men were lured away from the needs of their cities by foreign and dangerous seductions. The popularity of this scene in the late fifth century therefore suggests that Athenians were all too aware of the shift in their society from united civic responsibility to individuals now acting on their own and for their own benefit. Alcibiades therefore becomes the embodiment of the change overcoming the Athenian identity which is then articulated through the figure of Paris.

Other than the character of Paris the actual judgement scene could also shed light on the experience of Athenians. As previously stated, the Meidian version of the scene renders "the outcome of the Judgement a foregone conclusion" (Burn 1987: 66 – 67). If this is the case then the inclusion of Hera and Athena only serves to emphasise their loss or rather rejection. As the goddess of marriage and childbirth (March 2009: 56), the rejection of Hera could be seen as the rejection of traditional

family values; another one of Alcibiades' tendencies. As the polis and the *oikos* were such similar concepts to Athenians (Strauss: 1993: 11), the rejection of Hera could represent the undermining of the traditional value system of community responsibility. The parallel with the rejection of Athena is more obvious. As the patron deity of Athens the emphasis on the rejection of this goddess could be a representation of Alcibiades' own actions.

These images seem to become a representation of the individual redefining himself through his own actions and desires and no longer through a sense of community-building. According to Strauss (1993: 130) the late fifth century became a time for the youth. It was marked by arrogant youthful disregard for all things traditional which included a decline in support for democracy. Strauss claims that this generated "intergenerational tensions" which he sees as being articulated through Pericles and Alcibiades (Strauss 1993: 130 – 131). Considering these social conditions and strains, the Paris imagery of this period as a reflection of the youthful disdain for established society becomes more likely. This is supported by Strauss' argument that Alcibiades can possibly be regarded as the embodiment of "the rebellious youth and disobedient sons of Athens" (1993: 175). The comparison between Paris and Alcibiades can hardly be ignored as they are both sons of great cities putting their interests before others.

In all the abovementioned images the fear is evident. The tension felt by Athens and then expressed in vase painting is tangible. The vulnerability of the city and her inhabitants becomes quite clear in the light of the images of this time. Confidence in Pericles was at an all-time low. When the Athenians saw their homes being destroyed while their leader refused to engage the enemy the city started to become polarized between those wanting to defend themselves and those choosing to follow the statesman (Kallet 2009: 97). The Athenians started to feel betrayed by their fellow citizens and these images became a reflection of a desperate situation. This desperation led the Athenians to abandon hope in their once empowering military identity and seek reinforcement elsewhere. The conditions resulting from events of this period – war, plague, and stasis – led to the deterioration of the Athenian self-image and, to an extent, their self-worth. Once their military prowess was under attack and they seemed to be coming up wanting the Athenians were forced to re-evaluate their identity. The high degree of disunity in the city now made it harder to find their identity as a united community. The narrowing of interests resulted in a narrowing of their identity and this occurred once again along primordialist lines.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to establish the extent to which ‘other’ imagery reflected the contemporary Athenian identity during the fifth century BCE and the nature of this identity. In each of the three periods discussed in this chapter it was necessary to examine the ‘other’ imagery produced during the respective eras in conjunction with the relevant social context within which they were produced. Through this it was possible to establish that not only do depictions of ‘others’ reflect the Athenian identity of the period but also the transformative nature of this identity. The first section focussing on the Persian Wars concluded that Greeks were relatively united through a common militaristic identity. During Periclean Athens however the examined imagery shows that this wider Greek identity was narrowed to a more Athenian polis-centred self-definition based on civic pride and cultural superiority. This imagery also suggests that a certain degree of social insecurity was starting to take hold in Athens. The imagery of the final section dealing with the Peloponnesian War unexpectedly gives the most insight into the changing and ever-narrowing Athenian identity. Here the insecurity is no longer hinted at but quite clear. In the last two decades of the century Athenians seem to abandon their civic-based identity and opt rather for family or individual self-definition. Athenian identity in the fifth century changes from a wider, confident Greek identity, to a more restricted, proud civic identity, eventually ending in a narrow, individual, and insecure family identity.

Chapter four: Results and conclusion

The fifth century saw Athens thrust onto the world stage as a new and developing democratic city-state but one with great potential. The events that ensued all had a great influence on the politics, economics, society, and culture of Athens which in turn naturally affected the way in which the Athenians perceived and defined themselves. An important part of any culture is the way in which it visually and graphically expresses itself. Greeks had a strong and intimate relationship with their art, expressing their inner desires and fears in this way. From the monumental state-funded buildings to private and personal items of pottery, Greeks made sense of their world through their art. However it is in pottery that the citizen voice can more clearly be heard. The change in themes and subjects over the years indicates the degree to which public opinion and social attitudes affected this art form, emphasising the significance of this form of expression. Using iconographic signs the Greek painters were able to convey complex themes and subjects in a matter of moments with the reading of vase images becoming vital in order to understand the imagery. A number of devices and techniques are also present in pottery that made audience engagement essential for full comprehension and appreciation of vase painting. Various methods of drawing the viewer in and eliciting a response from them attest to the importance of this medium. Placing these vessels in their likely sympotic setting with its central didactic and intellectual activities serves to accentuate not only the vessels but their imagery; these vessels would have been picked up, examined, and discussed.

As the level of viewer participation was so high the potential for foreign influences due to international trade could have resulted in exotic, non-Athenian elements being adopted in order to satisfy this foreign cliental. However the strength of the Attic market and the disinterest in accommodating a non-Athenian audience who may not have understood the Athenian mythology or symbolism make these foreign influences unlikely. Attic vessels were intended to be viewed and interpreted by the highly socio-politically aware Athenians and little to no regard was given to any outsider who did not understand the subtle nuances within the imagery. While the potential for propaganda and personal influence in vase imagery may pose a problem, it is doubtful that any potter or painter would have deliberately deviated from the prevailing social attitudes and tried to instil their own opinion through the imagery. Vase imagery was not meant to deliberately alter social convictions and attitudes but rather reflect them.

The Greece within which these vessels were created however was not a homogenous society. Through the theoretical framework of anthropological models it is possible to determine the manner

in which Greek poleis developed their own identities and self-awareness and that these identities were reactionary and adaptable in nature. These identities were not only based on the shared experiences of those who defined themselves but also on opposition to 'other' cultures and customs. Through this opposition each polis was able to state who they *were not* without much need for who they *were* and still clearly define themselves. However these poleis remained fiercely independent and all developed their own strong sense of social definition and self-awareness. In the context of Athens only free-born, Athenian males were given full citizenship and the benefits and participation that came with it. Through this strict delineation Athens became not only a polis of citizens but also of 'others'; metics, slaves, and women. These 'others' nonetheless remained vital to the socio-economic progress of the city and were accommodated to an extent. This relatively high degree of accommodation of 'others' became an important characteristic of the Athenian identity and self-image.

Through migration and colonization the Athenians came increasingly in contact with foreigners of all cultures. Through this contact the Athenians developed a number of stereotypes that they attributed to these cultures which only served to emphasise their own Athenian ideals. Apart from having certain negative perceptions of these 'others' the Athenians were highly receptive to certain foreign cultures and often adopted garments and apparel into their own culture. So much so that it came to define them to a certain extent, as is visible in vase imagery depicting Athenians. A significant development spanning much of Athenian history is that of Amazon mythology. These warrior women played an important role in Athenian society to establish and reiterate the acceptable and unacceptable behaviour of its citizens. It is also accepted that Amazons were closely linked to the articulation of Athenian culture with changes in Athenian society reflected in Amazon mythology and imagery. As Amazons are strong, independent female figures but were created by a strict patriarchal society, their mythology and interpretation become very significant with regards to the nature of their imagery and their link to Athenians. Ranging from representations of military prowess to the embodiment of anti-social behaviour, Amazons were predominantly depicted fighting Greeks who represent perceived correct social order dominating apparent disorder. These figures also became increasingly ambiguous and indistinguishable from their Greek opponents. Amazons along with other 'others' were used to define Athenian culture and society through either agreement with or opposition to these contrary cultures.

Using the imagery of 'others' in Athens during the fifth century it is possible to establish the nature of the prevailing Athenian identity. An important aspect of Greek as well as Athenian culture was the emphasis on military ability due to the presence of chronic warfare and conflict. The competitive spirit and the heroic ideal played an important role in defining Greeks and it is these

traits that are visible in the vase imagery of the first quarter of the fifth century. Amazon imagery spiked in popularity during this time and the period of the Persian Wars (490 – 479 BCE). Dominated by Heracleian Amazonomachies these images reflect the military prowess important to Greeks which was further emphasised by the increasing importance of the status of *strategoi*. As this war came to impact all Greeks and not just single poleis, a united Greek identity was called for. This was temporarily achieved and the panhellenic figure of Heracles came to represent the abilities of Greece as a whole against the forces they had always opposed. While not simple substitutes for Persians in this imagery, Amazons embodied much of what Persia represented to Greeks; an eastern, anti-social enemy. As Amazons had been defeated in myth-history so too would this new eastern force be overcome. As reflected by the imagery of Amazons as well as ‘others’ during the first quarter of the fifth century Greece saw itself as a united militarily dominant society. The superiority of the Greeks and the inferiority of their opponents are central to the vase imagery of this time as well as the Greek identity.

After the end of the Persian Wars and the rise of Athens’ prominence the temporary unity that had existed between the poleis started to fade. The imagery of the mid-fifth century starts to reveal an increase in Athenocentrism and a decrease in Greek-wide concern evident in the rise of Theseus imagery replacing that centred on Heracles. As the influx of foreigners into Athens during this period led to a rise in metic *parthenoi* the Athenians turned to each other as they perceived their citizenship to be threatened. Once again the Amazon imagery suggests this defensive stance. With images of Amazonomachies appearing on vessels also depicting scenes of paternal authority and protection it is evident that the Athenians were relying more on traditional Athenian values to the exclusion of all non-Athenians including other Greeks. This is further emphasised by the increased attention given to the definition of citizenship and the introduction of Pericles’ citizenship law of 451/450 BCE. Instead of highlighting the military prowess of Greeks, Amazon imagery came to reflect the underlying Athenian fears of a breakdown in traditions as well as a warning to loners and those who chose to shun such traditions. The identity of Athenians as indicated by the vase imagery of ‘others’ became more focussed and exclusive with greater emphasis placed on those who were born as Athenian citizens revealing a growing uncertainty in the society.

This uncertainty only grew stronger and more evident as the fifth century came to a close. The last quarter of the century was perhaps one of the most trying periods in Athenian social history. One of the most significant characteristics of vase imagery during this time was the dramatic drop in Amazon depictions. These last twenty-five years saw the near disappearance of Amazon imagery yet these representations still reveal as much about Athenian society as the preceding decades. The imagery produced during the Peloponnesian War (431 – 404 BCE) reflects the strong sense of

desperation and insecurity that pervaded Athenian society at this time. With images depicting Amazons no longer inferior but in some places superior to Greeks this social attitude and self-image of the Athenians is a far cry from the military dominance and cultural supremacy reflected during the first seventy-five years of the century. The Greeks in this imagery start to appear hesitant and vulnerable much like the inhabitants of the plagued Athens. As the war raged on there was an increase in strife and stasis resulting in the disunity of the polis, fading hope in traditional civic values, and the rise of self-centred individuals. Imagery of Paris emphasised such sentiments as well as the lack of any heroic figure through which Athens could be united. Instead the Athenians came to define themselves along a far narrower, and exclusive line; the family. Turning to their most fundamental values of the *oikos* the Athenians no longer based their self-awareness on their country or even their polis but rather on the family unity.

At the turn of the fifth century Greeks faced with the Persian Wars defined themselves as a united and militarily superior nation rallying around panhellenic ideals and imagery. By the mid-fifth century social threat and reform required the Athenians to focus their identity not along Greek lines but rather along blood-lines. The last quarter of the fifth century saw an even greater narrowing. As Athens was fast becoming an 'every man for himself' polis the inhabitants felt they could no longer rely on the traditional civic-orientated identity. Instead they turned to the highly exclusive family unit within which to define themselves. All of this is evident in the way in which Athenians depicted the 'other' in their vase imagery. Not only did these images come to represent what they feared or desired but they also reflected their identity; an identity that through the century and along fundamental, primordialist lines underwent significant transformations in reaction to three major contemporary socio-political challenges.

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Fig.8 Terracotta votive shield. 7th century. Nauplia, 4509.

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Fig.9 A table representing Amazon imagery from two-thirds of all known Attic vases. Column letters *a* to *k* are an addition to the original table.

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Fig.12b Tondo of fig.12a. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris. 500 – 450 BCE. Paris, Musee du Louvre, G117.

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Fig.13 Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to the Kleophrades Painter. 525 – 475 BCE. Paris, Musee du Louvre, G166A.

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Fig.23 Attic red-figure neck amphora attributed to the Suessula Painter. 425 – 375 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 44.11.12.

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Fig.33 Attic red-figure lekanis lid attributed to the Meidias Painter. North German private.

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Fig.5 Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Chaire Painter. 490 – 470 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1423 (Mitchell 2009: 83; fig.31).

Fig.6 Attic red-figure psykter attributed to Smikros. 515 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.250 (Cohen 2001: 250).

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Fig.8 Terracotta votive shield. 7th century. Nauplia, 4509 (von Bothmer 1957: 1; plate I).

Fig.9 A table representing Amazon imagery from two-thirds of all known Attic vases (Stewart 1995a: 594).

Fig.10 The Beazley Archive. 2012 [Online]. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Eretria Painter. 450 – 400 BCE. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, M1135. Accessed: 29 June 2012. Available from: www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/01F600F9-682C-41CF-82F4-95D5D65E2FCF

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Fig.14 Tondo of an Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris. 500 – 490 BCE. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, B.8 (Miller 1999: 59; fig.22).

Fig.15 Attic red-figure oinochoe in the manner of the Triptolemos P. 460 BCE. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Inv. no. 1981.173 (Miller 1999: 13; figs.1 – 2).

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Fig.21 The Beazley Archive. 2012 [Online]. Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Louvre G 433, Painter of. 425 – 375 BCE. Athens, National Museum, 2396. Accessed: 25 August 2012. Available from: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/6CBB14DC-FA83-4932-BB5B-D1DB2DE82B5A>

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Fig.30 Attic red-figure oinochoe in the manner of the Makaria Painter. 410 – 400 BCE. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T652, 2498 (Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981a: 636; no.805; 1981b: 526; no.805).

Fig.31 The Beazley Archive. 2012 [Online]. Attic red-figure kantharos attributed to the Eretria Painter. 450 – 400 BCE. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 467. Accessed: 6 February 2012. Available from: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/31D8456A-5188-4334-BF0E-06D51D1DB2A4>

Fig.32 Attic red-figure lekanis lid attributed the Meidias Painter. Paris, Louvre CA 3668 (Burn 1987: 48; 99; plate 31b).

Fig.33 Attic red-figure lekanis lid attributed to the Meidias Painter. North German private (Burn 1987: 48; 99; plate 31c).

Fig.34 Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris. Karlsruhe 259 (B 36) (Burn 1987: 65; 100; plate 40).

Fig.35 Attic red-figure bell krater attributed to the Painter of the Athens Wedding. Vienna 1771 (Burn 1987: 65; 102; plate 42a).